

ORIENTALIA CHRISTIANA ANALECTA

N. 193

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE EASTER VIGIL AND RELATED
SERVICES IN THE GREEK CHURCH



GABRIEL BERTONIERE

**THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT
OF THE EASTER VIGIL AND RELATED
SERVICES IN THE GREEK CHURCH**



PONT. INSTITUTUM STUDIORUM ORIENTALIUM

PIAZZA S. MARIA MAGGIORE, 7

00185 ROMA

1972

BX
1
074
No. 193

IMPRIMI POTEST

Romae, die 2 Octobris 1972

Rector Pont. Institutii Orientalis
R. P. IVAN ŽUŽEK, S.I.

IMPRIMATUR

E Vicariatu Urbis, die 5 Octobris 1972

✠ HECTOR CUNIAL, Vicesgerens



TABLE OF CONTENTS

<i>Abbreviations Used in Connection With Manuscripts</i>	<i>XI</i>
<i>Brief Description of Manuscripts Used</i>	<i>XIII</i>
<i>Abbreviations Used for Periodicals and Larger Reference Works</i>	<i>XVII</i>
<i>Bibliography</i>	<i>XIX</i>
<i>Introduction</i>	<i>I</i>

SECTION ONE. THE TRADITION OF JERUSALEM

Chapter One. GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTS STUDIED	7
--	---

1. *Peregrinatio Egeriae*, — 2. The Armenian Lectionary, —
3. The Georgian Lectionary, — 4. Codex Jerusalem Patriarchate Hagios Stauros 43, — 5. Non-liturgical documents: a. Fulcherius of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Peregrinantium*; *Žit'e i Khožen'e Danila ruskyja zemli igumena*.

Chapter Two. THE PASCHAL VIGIL	21
--	----

1. The Time of Celebration, — 2. The Place of Celebration: The Vigil in Egeria and ARM, The Lucernarium in Egeria and ARM, The Vigil in GEORG, The Vigil in GEORG SABBA, The Vigil in HS 43, The Witness of Daniel, Conclusion, —
3. Lucernarium: Egeria, Armenian Lectionary, Critique of Renoux's position, Georgian Lectionary, The Practice of Sabba according to GEORG, HS 43, The Practice of GEORG in Comparison with That of HS 43, Other Documents Corroborating the Witness of HS 43 (Bernhardus Monachus, *Itinerarium*; Arethas, *Letter to the Emir of Damascus*; Ma'sūdi; Narration of Nikitas of the Imperial Clergy; Radulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri IV*, c. VI; *Žit'e i Khožen'e Danila ruskyja zemli igumena*, Description of Holy Saturday and Easter; Items Common to All of These Documents; Items Found in Some of the Documents; The Relation Between These Documents and HS 43), Transference of the Lucernarium, The Duplication

of the Lucernarium in GEORG and HS 43, Hymnic Elements in HS 43's Lucernarium as Compared with the Earlier Documents, The Procession to the Basilica in HS 43 Related to Earlier Practice, A Final Indirect Witness to Jerusalem Practice, Conclusions on the Lucernarium, — 4. The Vigil Proper: Introductory Elements, The Cursus of the Readings I (The Ancient Jerusalem Cursus), The Cursus of the Readings II (The Later Cursus Borrowed from Constantinople), Elements Inserted Between the Readings, Baptisms, Entrance of the Bishop with the Newly-Baptized, Liturgy, The Second Liturgy, Function of the Second Liturgy, Conclusions on the Vigil Proper.

Chapter Three. THE MORNING SERVICES 72

1. The Cathedral Vigil: The Ensemble of the Morning Services in Egeria, The Witness of ARM, GEORG: Cathedral Vigil but No Second Liturgy, HS 43: Both Second Liturgy and Cathedral Vigil, Other Cases of Gospel Readings at Orthros in HS 43, The Elements of the Cathedral Vigil (1. Responsorial Psalmody: The "*Epakousta*", Conclusions; 2. Other Hymnic and Prayer Elements Before the Gospel; 3. The Gospel Reading; 4. Hymnic Elements after the Reading), Conclusions on the Cathedral Vigil, — 2. Orthros: The Ensemble of the Documents, HS 43, HS 43 and Sabba-type Orthros, The Introduction of the Monastic Elements, — 3. Morning Liturgy: The Early Documents, HS 43.

CONCLUSION ON SECTION ONE 101

Paschal Vigil, Easter Sunday Cathedral Vigil, Orthros, Morning Liturgy.

SECTION TWO. THE TRADITION OF CONSTANTINOPLE

Chapter One. SOME EARLY PATRISTIC WITNESSES 109

1. Easter, 404 A. D., — 2. Proclus of Constantinople.

Chapter Two. DESCRIPTION OF THE LITURGICAL DOCUMENTS 113

1. Typica and Praxapostola: Patmos 266, Jerusalem Patriarchate Hagios Stauros 40, Codex A 104 of the Royal Library of Dresden, Moscow Academy Praxapostolos, Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum Codex 222, — 2. Prophetologia: Venice, Marcianus 13; Oxford, Laudianus Gr. 36; Jerusalem Patriarchate Sabba 98; Jerusalem Patriarchate Sabba 247; Sinai 9; Jerusalem Patriarchate Sabba 143; Sinai 14; Vatican Reginensis 75; Florence, Laurentianus Pl IX, 15; Grottaferrata A 8 II (554), — 3. A Patriarchal Euchologion: Crypt Γ β I, — 4. Courtly Rituals: *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Traité des Offices* of Pseudo-Kodinos.

logion: Crypt Γ β I, — 4. Courtly Rituals: *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, *Traité des Offices* of Pseudo-Kodinos.

Chapter Three. THE PASCHAL VIGIL 121

1. Preliminary Ceremonies, — 2. The Beginning of Vespers, — 3. The OT Readings, — 4. The Conferring of Baptism: Procession to the Baptistry, Baptism and Myron, Procession Back to the Main Church, — 5. The Witness of Tif 222 Concerning the First Part of the Service, — 6. The Liturgy.

Chapter Four. ORTHROS 140

1. The General Structure of the Service: The Earlier Documents, The *Traité des Offices*, Tif 222, — 2. The Kiss of Peace: *Dres*, Pseudo-Kodinos.

Chapter Five. THE MORNING LITURGY 148

CONCLUSION ON SECTION TWO 151

SECTION THREE. THE MONASTIC TRADITION

Introduction. THE PRINTED TYPICON OF 1545 157

1. Vespers: From the Beginning Until the Entrance, The Entrance and the Readings, The Liturgy of Saint Basil, — 2. Meal, Reading from Acts, Pannychis, — 3. Orthros: Preparations in the Narthex, The Canon and the Ainoi, Kiss of Peace and Conclusion, — 4. Morning Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom.

Part One. The Studite Tradition

Chapter One. DOCUMENTS OF THE STUDITE TRADITION 191

1. Sin 150, — 2. Vatop 322 (956), — 3. Ivir 754 (228), — 4. MS 380, 330, — 5. Ath 788, — 6. Tif 193, 222, 839; Imperial Public Library 171, 572, — 7. Crypt Δ β VIII (300), — 8. Crypt E α VIII (292), — 9. Lavra Γ 67, — 10. Lavra Γ 72, — 11. Vatop 1488, — 12. Vat Pius II Gr 30, — 13. Vat Gr 771, — 14. Vat Gr 2119, — 15. Mess Gr 110, — 16. Vat Barb Gr 484, — 17. Mess Gr 115, — 18. Vat Gr 1877, — 19. Vat Gr 1609, — 20. Jena, — 21. Crypt

$\Gamma \alpha$ I (404), — 22. Tor 216, — 23. Vat Gr 788, — 24. Crypt $\Delta \beta$ VII (210), — 25. Crypt $\Delta \beta$ XVII (486), — 26. Mess Gr 129, — 27. Mess Gr 142, — 28. Mess Gr 127, — 29. Crypt $E \alpha$ V (378), — 30. Crypt $E \alpha$ VI (408), — 31. Crypt $E \alpha$ VIII (291), — 32. Vat Gr 1517, — 33. Vat Gr 1537, — 34. Horologion of Grottaferrata

Chapter Two. HOLY SATURDAY VESPERS 183

1. From the Beginning until the Entrance: The Stichera for Ps 140, Other Items, Conclusion, — 2. The Entrance and the Readings, Conclusion, — 3. The Liturgy, Conclusion, — 4. Meal and Intermediate Office: The Meal, The Intermediate Service, The Silence of the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis Concerning the Vigil, The Interval Between the Intermediate Office and Orthros, Conclusion.

Chapter Three. ORTHROS 195

1. Preparations in the Narthex and the Entrance: The Earlier Documents on the Gathering in the Narthex, The Later Documents, The Peculiarities of Grottaferrata's Typicon, The Entrance, Stichoi with X. A., Special Cases, Stichoi from Ps 23, Conclusion, — 2. The Canon and the Ainoi: Readings in Connection with the Canon, The Absence of Ps 50 and Other Items, (Excursus on the Poetical Material in Manuscripts Other Than the Typica: Vat Gr 788, Mess Gr 129, Crypt 300, Vat Reg Pius II Gr 30, Crypt 486, The Athonite Sticheraria, Conclusion), The Rest of the Service in the Earlier Documents, The Ainoi and Their Stichera in the Later Documents, The Paschal Stichoi and Stichera, The Doxa and Its Sticheron, Stichera for Easter Week in Some Collections, The Great Doxology in MS 380, Conclusions, — 3. Kiss of Peace and Conclusion: The Kiss of Peace, The Reading in Connection with This Ceremony, Concluding Elements, Conclusion.

Chapter Four. LITURGY OF SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM 221

1. Documents Which Make Only Brief Mention of the Liturgy, — 2. The Beginning of the Liturgy, — 3. Gal 3,27 and the Readings, — 4. The Reading of the Gospel, — 5. Other Items, — 6. Conclusions.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON PART ONE 225

Vespers and Liturgy, Meal, Intermediate Office, Orthros, Liturgy, Note on the Later Typica of Mount Athos.

Part Two. The Sabbite Tradition

Introduction. EARLY WITNESSES 229

Chapter One. LATER DOCUMENTS OF THE JERUSALEM PATRIARCHATE 232

1. Description of the Manuscripts: 1. HS 67, 2. HS 43, 3. Sin 1095, 4. Sin 1094, 5. Sin 1096, 6. Sabba 312, 7. Lavra A 99, 8. Bibl Nat Coislin Gr 402, 9. HS 15, 10. Sabba 628, 11. Sabba 311, — 2. Vespers in These Documents: The Special Case of HS 43, A Variant of Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat 402, — 3. Meal and Intermediate Office, — 4. Orthros: Initial Procession in HS 43, Opening Section, The Canon, Readings in Conjunction with the Canon, The Ainoi, Paschal Stichoi and Stichera, Concluding Elements, — 5. Liturgy, Conclusion: Vespers, Meal and Intermediate Office, Orthros, Liturgy.

Chapter Two. DOCUMENTS OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE ON MOUNT SINAI 246

1. Description of the Manuscripts: 1. Sin 734-735, 2. Sin 736, 3. Sin 743, 4. Sin 760, 5. Sin 1241, 6. Sin 754, 7. Sin 755, 8. Sin 1242, 9. Sin 756, 10. Sin 1097, 11. Sin 1216, 12. Sin 1244, 13. Sin 110, 14. Sin 1098, 15. Mark Gr II, 117 (1427), 16. Mark Gr II, 118 (1439), 17. Sin 1109, 18. Sin 1245, 19. Sin 1108, 20. Sin 1614, 21. Sin 746, — 2. The Typica, — 3. The Witness of the Sticheraria and Triodia-Pentecostaria: Vespers (1. The Stichera for Ps. 140, 2. Other Items,) Orthros (1. From the Beginning to the Canon, 2. The Ainoi and the Kiss of Peace), Sin 736, The Easter Stichera in the Sinai Triodia-Pentecostaria, Conclusion (Vespers, Meal and Intermediate Office, Orthros, Morning Liturgy).

Chapter Three. DOCUMENTS OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN ON THE ISLAND OF PATMOS 259

1. Description of the Manuscripts: 1. Patmos 221, 2. Patmos 218, 3. Patmos 219, 4. Patmos 220, 5. Patmos 222, 6. Patmos 226, 7. Patmos 227, 8. Patmos 612, — 2. Holy Saturday Vespers, — 3. The Stichera for Easter Sunday.

Chapter Four. SABBA DOCUMENTS OF VARIOUS OTHER COLLECTIONS 262

1. Description of the Manuscripts: 1. Vat Reg Gr 58-59, 2. Bib Nat Gr 242, 3. Vat Gr 782, 4. Sin 775, 5. Shio-

Mgimve Monastery Codex, 6. Vat Gr 785, 7. Bibl Nat Gr 261, 8. Vind Theol Gr 181, 9. Vat Pal Gr 101, 10. Bibl Nat Gr 263, 11. Bibl Nat Gr 260, 12. Bibl Nat Gr 246, — 2. Vespers, — 3. Meal and Intermediate Office, — 4. Orthros, — 5. Liturgy, — Conclusion.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON PART TWO 269

1. Differences Between Various Branches of the Sabba Tradition: Vespers, Meal and Intermediate Office, Orthros, The Problem of the "Paschal Stichoi", Liturgy, Elements of the Older Tradition, — 2. The Manuscript Tradition and the Model.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON SECTION THREE 277

1. The Relation Between the Studite and Sabbite Traditions: Vespers, Meal, Intermediate Office, Orthros, Morning Liturgy, Historical Considerations, — 2. The Evolution of the Easter Service in the Byzantine Monastic Tradition: Vespers-Liturgy, Meal and Intermediate Offices, Orthros, Morning Liturgy.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS 294

INDEX OF INCIPITS OF THE EASTER STICHERIA 303

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS 309

BIBLICAL INDEX 312

GENERAL INDEX 316

ABBREVIATIONS

USED IN CONNECTION WITH MANUSCRIPTS

ARM	= Armenian Lectionary of Jerusalem
ARM B	= Codex Bodleian Armenian D 2 of ARM
ARM J	= Codex Jerusalem Armenian 121 of ARM
ARM P	= Codex Bibl Nat Arménien 44 of ARM
Ath	= Athens National Library
Bibl Nat	= Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
Crypt	= Grottaferrata, Badia di S. Maria di Grottaferrata
Dres	= Codex A 104 of the Royal Library of Dresden
GEORG	= Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem
GEORG K	= variants from Kekelidze, <i>Ierusalimskij Kanonar</i> for GEORG L in the critical apparatus of Tarehnischvili, <i>Le grand lectionnaire</i>
GEORG L	= Codex Mestia 635 of GEORG
GEORG P	= Bibliothèque Nationale Géorgien 3 of GEORG
GEORG S	= Codex Sin 37 of GEORG
GEORG Sabba	= Material in GEORG S relating to Sabba practice
HS	= Jerusalem Patriarchate, collection of the monastery of Hagios Stauros
Ivir	= Iviron monastery on Mount Athos
Jena	= Typicon of the monastery of the Patirion (Jena, Universitätsbibliothek G. B. q. 6a?)
Gr	= Greek
Lavra	= Monastery of The Great Lavra on Mount Athos
Mark Gr	= Greek manuscripts in the collection of St. Mark's, Venice
Mess Gr	= Greek manuscripts in the collection of the University Library, Messina
MS	= Moscow Synodal Library
Pant	= Panteleimon monastery on Mount Athos
Patmos	= Monastery of St. John the Theologian, island of Patmos
Prophetologion Δ 2	= Crypt A 8 2
Prophetologion d2	= Oxford, Codex Laudianus Gr 36
Prophetologion F	= Florence, Laurentianus Pl. IX, 15
Prophetologion R	= Vat Reg Gr 75
Prophetologion S 14	= Sabba 14
Prophetologion S 98	= Sabba 98
Prophetologion S 143	= Sabba 143
Prophetologion S 247	= Sabba 247

Prophetologion Sin 9	= Sin 9
Prophetologion V	= Venice, Codex Marcianus 13
Sabba	= Jerusalem Patriarchate, collection of the Monastery of St. Sabba
Shio	= Typicon of the Monastery of Shio-Mgimve, Georgia (unnumbered codex)
Sin	= St Catherine's Monastery on Mount Sinai
SOPH	= The services of the Great Church in Constantinople
SOPH H	= HS 40
SOPH P	= Patmos 266
Tif	= Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum
Tor	= Torino, Biblioteca Nazionale
Vat Barb Gr	= Barberini Greek collection of the Vatican Library
Vat Gr	= Greek collection of the Vatican Library
Vat Pal Gr	= Palatine Greek collection of the Vatican Library
Vat Pius II Gr	= Reginensis Pius II Greek collection of the Vatican Library
Vat Reg Gr	= Reginensis Greek collection of the Vatican Library
Vatop	= Vatopedi Monastery on Mount Athos
Vind Theol Gr	= Theological Greek collection of the Vienna National Library

BRIEF DESCRIPTION OF MANUSCRIPTS USED

The dating of these documents is based in each case on the authority whose judgement seems to us to be the most correct. In cases of discrepancy of opinion where we were not able to come to a decision, we present the two extremes represented by the various authors. Cf. the text for a fuller discussion of dating.

ARM B	= Codex Bodleian Arm D 2, Armenian Lectionary 14th century
ARM Er	= Codex Erévan 985, later than ARM J and P
ARM J	= Codex Jerus. armen. 121, Armenian Lectionary, 1192 A. D.
ARM P	= Bibl Nat Arm 44, Armenian Lectionary, 9th-10th century
Ath 788	= Typicon of Evergetes, 12th century
Bibl Nat Coislin Gr 402	= Typicon of Sabba, 13th-14th century
Bibl Nat Gr 242	= Sticherarion, 11th century
Bibl Nat Gr 246	= Triodion-Pentecostarion, 14th century
Bibl Nat Gr 260	= Sticherarion, 14th century
Bibl Nat Gr 261	= Sticherarion, 1289 A. D.
Bibl Nat Gr 263	= Varia Liturgica, 14th century
Crypt Γ β I	= Patriarchal Euchologion of the Great Church, 11th century
Crypt 210	= Triodion-Pentecostarion, 12th century
Crypt 291	= Sticherarion, 13th-14th century
Crypt 292	= Sticherarion, end of 10th century
Crypt 300	= Triodion-Pentecostarion, 10th century
Crypt 378	= Sticherarion, 13th century
Crypt 401	= copy of "Jena"
Crypt 404	= Typicon of Grottaferrata, 1300 A. D.
Crypt 408	= Sticherarion, 13th century
Crypt 486	= Triodion-Pentecostarion, 12th century
Dres	= Dresden, Royal Library A 104, Praxapostolos of the Great Church, 950 A. D. to the end of the first half of the 11th century
GEORG K	= variants from Kekelidze, <i>Ierusalimskij Kanonar</i> for GEORG Ka in the critical apparatus of Tarchnischvili, <i>Le grand lectionnaire</i>
GEORG L	= Mestia 635, Georgian Lectionary, 10th century
GEORG P	= Bibl Nat Georgien 3, Georgian Lectionary, 10th-11th century
GEORG S	= Sinai 37, Georgian Lectionary, 982 A. D.
GEORG Sabba	= Material in GEORG S pertaining to Sabba practice

- HS 15 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 13th century
 HS 43 = Typicon of the Anastasis, 1122 A. D.
 HS 67 = Apostle, 11th-12th century
 Ivir 754 = Diatyposis, 16th century copy
 Jena = "Typicon of the Patirion", 1130-50 A. D.
 Lavra Γ 67 = Sticherarion, 950-1025 A. D.
 Lavra Γ 72 = Sticherarion, not later than 1025 A. D.
 Lavra A 99 = Typicon of Sabba, 12th-13th century
 Mark Gr II 117 = Typicon of Sabba, 1387 A. D.
 Mark Gr II 118 = Sticherarion, 14th century
 Mess Gr 110 = Sticherarion, 11th-12th century
 Mess Gr 115 = Typicon of San Salvatore, 1131-32 A. D.
 Mess Gr 127 = Sticherarion, 12th-14th century
 Mess Gr 129 = Varia musicalia, 12th century
 Mess Gr 142 = Sticherarion, 12th century
 MS 380 = Typicon of Alexis, 12th-13th century
 Patmos 218 = Sticherarion, 1167 A. D.
 Patmos 219 = Sticherarion, 1219 A. D.
 Patmos 220 = Sticherarion, 1223 A. D.
 Patmos 221 = Sticherarion, ?
 Patmos 222 = Sticherarion, ?
 Patmos 226 = Sticherarion, ?
 Patmos 227 = Sticherarion, ?
 Patmos 612 = Triodion, 15th century
 Prophetologion Δ 2 = Crypt A 8 II (554), 10th century
 Prophetologion d2 = Oxford, Laudianus Gr 36
 Prophetologion F = Florence, Laurentianus Pl. IX, 15, 10th century
 Prophetologion R = Vat Reg Gr 75, 982 A. D.
 Prophetologion S 98 = Sabba 98, 11th century
 Prophetologion S 143 = Sabba 143, 12th century
 Prophetologion S 247 = Sabba 247, 11th century
 Prophetologion Sin 9 = 11th century
 Prophetologion Sin 14 = 11th-12th century
 Prophetologion V = Venice, Marcianus 13, 11th century
 Sabba 311 = Typicon of Sabba, 15th-16th century
 Sabba 312 = Typicon of Sabba, 1201 A. D.
 Sabba 628 = Typicon of Sabba, 13th century
 Shio = Sabba-type Typicon of Shio-Mgimve, 1247-69 A. D.
 Sin 150 = Kanonarion, 9th-11th century
 Sin 734-35 = Triodion, 10th-11th century
 Sin 736 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 1028 A. D.
 Sin 742 = Triodion, 1099 A. D.
 Sin 746 = Triodion, 1519 A. D.
 Sin 754 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 1177 A. D.
 Sin 755 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 10th-12th century
 Sin 756 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 1205 A. D.
 Sin 760 = Pentecostarion, 11th century
 Sin 775 = Pentecostarion, 12th-13th century
 Sin 1094 = Typicon of Sabba, 12th-13th century
 Sin 1095 = Typicon of Sabba, 12th century

- Sin 1096 = Typicon of Sabba, 12th-14th century
 Sin 1097 = Typicon of Sabba, 1214 A. D.
 Sin 1098 = Typicon of Sabba, 1387 A. D.
 Sin 1101 = Typicon of Sabba, 1312 A. D.
 Sin 1108 = Typicon of Sabba, 15th century
 Sin 1109 = Typicon of Sabba, 1464-65 A. D.
 Sin 1216 = Sticherarion, 11th-13th century
 Sin 1241 = Sticherarion, 11th-12th century
 Sin 1242 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 13th century
 Sin 1244 = Sticherarion, 13th century
 Sin 1245 = Triodion, 14th-15th century
 Sin 1614 = Triodion, 15th century
 SOPH H = Jerusalem Patriarchate Hagios Stauros 40, 950-59 A. D., Typicon of Hagia Sophia
 SOPH P = Patmos 266, Typicon of Hagia Sophia, end of the 9th, beginning of the 10th century
 Tif 222 = Synaxarion of George Mtatsmindeli, 12th century copy
 Tor 216 = Typicon of Casole, 1174 A. D.
 Vat Barb Gr 484 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 1120 A. D.
 Vat Gr 771 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 11th century
 Vat Gr 775 = Pentecostarion, 12th-13th century
 Vat Gr 782 = Typicon of Sabba, 12th century
 Vat Gr 785 = Typicon of Sabba, 14th-15th century
 Vat Gr 788 = Pentecostarion, 1170 A. D.
 Vat Gr 1069 = Italo-Greek Typicon, 16th century
 Vat Gr 1517 = Holy Week-Pentecostarion, 15th century
 Vat Gr 1537 = Items from the Horologion, 1573 A. D.
 Vat Gr 1877 = Typicon of S. Maria di Mili, 1292 A. D.
 Vat Gr 2118 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 11th century
 Vat Gr 2029 = Hypotyposis
 Vat Pal Gr 101 = Typicon of Sabba, 1373 A. D.
 Vat Pius II Gr 30 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 11th century
 Vat Reg Gr 58-59 = Triodion-Pentecostarion, 11th century
 Vat Syr 21 = Melkite Praxapostolos, 1353 A. D.
 Vatop 322 = Hypotyposis, 13th-14th century copy
 Vatop 1488 = Sticherarion, 11th century
 Vind Theol Gr 181 = Sticherarion, mid-13th century

Note: In citing to manuscripts found in the Soviet Union we generally refer to them as belonging to the library in which they were found at the time they were studied by the authors we have consulted. Many of these collections have been relocated in different libraries. Rev. Miguel Arranz, S.J. has kindly pointed out to us that the collections of the St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy and of the St. Petersburg National Library are now found in the Publičnaja Leningradskaja Biblioteka Saltyková-Ščedriná. Unfortunately, we were not able to discover the whereabouts of any of the other collections containing manuscripts to which we refer.

ABBREVIATIONS USED FOR PERIODICALS AND LARGER REFERENCE WORKS

CC	= <i>Corpus Christianorum. Series Latina</i> , Turnhout, 1953 ff.
CSCO	= <i>Corpus scriptorum christianorum orientalium</i> , Paris, 1903 ff.
DACL	= <i>Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie</i> , Paris, 1907-1953.
JFL	= <i>Jahrbuch für Liturgiewissenschaft</i> , Münster, 1921-41.
MG	= Migne, J. P., <i>Patrologia Graeca</i> , 161 vols., Paris, 1857-66.
ML	= Migne, J. P., <i>Patrologia Latina</i> , 217 vols., Paris, 1878-90.
MMB	= <i>Monumenta Musicae Byzantinae</i> , Copenhagen, 1935 ff.
OC	= <i>Oriens Christianus</i> (Leipzig) Wiesbaden, 1901 ff.
OCA	= <i>Orientalia Christiana Analecta</i> , Rome, 1935 ff.
OCP	= <i>Orientalia Christiana Periodica</i> , Rome, 1935 ff.
POC	= <i>Le Proche-Orient chrétien</i> , Jerusalem, 1951 ff.
RB	= <i>Revue Biblique</i> , Paris, 1892 ff.
TU	= <i>Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der altchristlichen Literatur</i> , Leipzig-Berlin, 1882 ff.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

- ABEL, *Jerusalem*: Abel, F.-M., "Jérusalem," DACL 7, 2304-2374.
- ABEL, *Review of Ierusalimskij Kanonar*: Abel, F.-M., "Review of Keke-lidze, *Ierusalimskij Kanonar*, RB 11 (1914), 453-62.
- ACHELIS, *Canones Hippolyti*: Achelis, H., *Die Canones Hippolyti* (TU 6), Leipzig, 1889-91.
- ADONTZ, *Les fêtes*: Adontz, N., "Les fêtes et les saints de l'Eglise arménienne," *Revue de l'Orient chrétien* 26 (1927-28), 74-104; 225-78.
- ALTANER, *Patrologia*: Altaner, B., *Patrologia*, Trans. A. Babilin, S. I. Revised by Mons. Daniele Ireneo, Torino, 1968.
- ANDRIEU, *Ordines Romani*: Andrieu, M., *Les Ordines Romani du haut moyen-âge*, 4 vols. (Spicilegium Sacrum Lovaniense 11, 23, 24, and 28), Louvain, 1956-61.
- ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos*: Anrich, G., *Hagios Nikolaos, Der heilige Nikolaos in der griechischen Kirche*, 2 vols., Leipzig - Berlin, 1913-17.
- ANTONIADES, *Ekphrasis*: 'Αντωνιάδης, Μ., "Εκφρασις τῆς Ἀγίας Σοφίας," 2 vols, Athens, 1907.
- ANTONIN, *Katalog*: Antonin (Kapustin), Archimandrite, *Katalog rukopisei Sinaiskikh* cited by Benešević, *Opisanie* I p. XXVI without further details.
- Antonini Placentii Itinerarium*: "Antonini Placentii Itinerarium," ed. P. Geyer, *Itineraria et alia geographica* (CC 175-Series latina), pp. 129-153, Turnhout, 1965.
- ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*: Arranz, M., S. J., *Le Typicon du monastère du Saint-Sauveur à Messine. Codex Messinensis gr 115. A. D. 1131* (OCA 185), Rome, 1969.
- ASSEMANI, *Catalogus*: Assemani, S. E., *Bibliothecae Apostolicae Vaticanae codicum manuscriptorum catalogus Pars I*, 3 vols., Rome, 1756-58.
- AVDULOVSKIJ, *Svjatyj ogon*: Avdulovskij, P. M., *Svjatyj ogon iskodjaščij ot groba gospoda Boga i spasa našego Iisusa Khrista v den velikoj suboty v Ierusalime*, Moscov, 1892.
- BASTIAENSEN, *Observations*: Bastiaensen, A. A. R., C. M., *Observations sur le vocabulaire liturgique dans l'Itinéraire d'Egérie*, Nijmegen-Utrecht, 1962.
- BAUMSTARK, *Das Alter*: Baumstark, A., "Das Alter der *Peregrinatio Aetheriae*," OC N. S. 1 (1911), 32-76.
- , *Denkmäler*: Baumstark, A., "Denkmäler der Entstehungsgeschichte des byzantinischen Ritus," OC 3rd series 2 (1927), 1-32.
- , *Die Heiligtümer*: Baumstark, A., "Die Heiligtümer des byzantinischen Jerusalem nach einer übersehenden Urkunde," OC 5 (1905), 227-289.
- , *Das Kirchenjahr*: Baumstark, A., "Das Kirchenjahr in Antiocheia zwischen 512 und 518," *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Altertumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 11 (1897), 31-66; 13 (1899), 305-323.

- , *Liturgie comparée*: Baumstark, A., *Liturgie comparée*, Chevetogne, 1939.
- , *Die Modestianischen*: Baumstark, A., *Die Modestianischen und die Konstantinischen Bauten am Heiligem Grabe zu Jerusalem*, Paderborn, 1915.
- , *Nichtevangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen*: Baumstark, A., *Nicht-evangelische syrische Perikopenordnungen des ersten Jahrtausends* (Liturgiegeschichtliche Forschungen 3, 15) Münster, 1921.
- , *Nocturna Laus*: Baumstark, A., *Nocturna Laus, aus den nachlass herausgegeben von Dr. P. Odilo Heimig*, Münster Westfalen, 1958.
- , *Review of Klameth*: Baumstark, A., "Review of Klameth, G. Kar-samstagsfeuerwunder," *Literarische Rundschau* 40 (1914), 476 ff.
- , *Das Typicon*: Baumstark, A., "Das Typicon der Patmos-Handschrift 266," *JFL* 6 (1926), 98-111.
- BAUR, *Der Heilige Johannes*: Baur, Chrysostomus, O. S. B., *Der Heilige Johannes Chrysostomus und seine Zeit*, 2 vols., Munich, 1929.
- BEISSEL, *Entstehung*: Beissel, S., *Entstehung der Perikopen des Römischen Messbuches*, (Stimmen aus Maria-Laach, Ergänzungsband 24, 96) Freiburg, 1907.
- BENEŠEVIČ, *Opisanie*: Beneševič, V., *Opisanie grečeskikh rukopisei monasty-rja svjatoi Ekateriny na Sinai*, 2 vols. (bearing the numbers I and III, 1 respectively), St. Petersburg, 1911 (I) and 1917 (III, 1).
- BERNARDUS monachus, *Itinerarium*: Bernardus monachus, "Itinerarium," *Itineraria Hierosolymitana*, edd. T. Tobler and A. Molinier, pp. 307-20, Geneva, 1879.
- BLUDAU, *Die Pilgerreise*: Bludau, A., *Die Pilgerreise der Aetheria* (Studien zur Geschichte und Kultur des Altertums 15) Paderborn, 1927.
- BOTTE, *Le choix*: Botte, Dom Bernard, O. S. B., "Le choix des lectures de la veille paschale," *Les questions liturgiques et paroissiales* 33 (1952), 65-74.
- BOTTE, *Le lectionnaire*: Botte, Dom Bernard, O. S. B., "Le lectionnaire arménien et la fête de la Théotokos à Jérusalem au Ve siècle," *Sacris Erudiri* 2 (1949), 111-122.
- BURKITT, *The Early Syriac*: Burkitt, F. C., "The early Syriac Lectionary System," *Proceedings of the British Academy* 11 (1923), 1-38.
- BURKITT, *The Old Lectionary*: Burkitt, F. C., "The Old Lectionary of Jerusalem," *Journal of Theological Studies* 24 (1922-23), 415-24.
- CAPELLE, *Le fete*: Capelle, Dom. B., O. S. B., "La fête de la vierge à Jérusalem," *Le muséeon* 46 (1943), 1-33.
- CAPELLE, *La procession*: Capelle, Dom B., O. S. B., "La procession du Lumen Christi au Samedi-saint," *Revue Bénédictine* 44,2 (1932), 105-119.
- CHRYSOSTOME, *Huit catéchèses*: Chrysostome, Jean, *Huit catéchèses baptismales inédites*, ed. A. Wenger, A. A. (Sources chrétiennes 50), Paris, 1957.
- CHRYSOSTOM, *Letter I to Innocent*: Chrysostom, John, *Letter I to Innocent*, MG 52 530-36.
- CHRYSOSTOM, *Sermo I in Acta Apostolorum*: Chrysostom, John, *Sermo I in Acta Apostolorum*, MG 60, 13-26.
- CLARK, *Checklist Jerusalem*: Clark, Kenneth W., *Checklist of Manuscripts in the Libraries of the Greek and Armenian Patriarchates in Jerusalem*, microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1949-50, Washington, 1953.

- CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*: Clark, Kenneth, W., *Checklist of Manuscripts in St. Catherine's Monastery, Mount Sinai*, microfilmed for the Library of Congress, 1950, Washington, 1952.
- Codices Vat Gr I: Mercati, I. and de' Cavalieri, P. Franchi, *Codices Vaticani Graeci I* (Codices 1-329), Vatican, 1923.
- Codices Vat Gr II and III: Devreesse, R., *Codices Vaticani Graeci II* (Codices 330-603) and III (Codices 604-866), Vatican, 1937 and 1950.
- Codices Vat Gr 1485-1744: Giannelli, C., *Codices Vaticani Graeci 1485-1744*, Vatican, 1950.
- CONNOLLY, *Didascalia*: Connolly R. Hugh, O. S. B. (ed.), *Didascalia Apostolorum. The Syriac Version translated and accompanied by Verona Latin fragments*, Oxford, 1929.
- CONYBEARE, *Rituale*: Conybeare, F. C., *Rituale Armenorum*, Oxford, 1905.
- CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, 18th *Catechesis*: Cyril of Jerusalem, 18th *Catechesis ad illuminandos*, MG 33, 1017-1060.
- DELEHAYE, *Synazarium*: Delehaye, H., *Synazarium Ecclesiae Constantinopolitanae* (Propylaeum ad Acta Sanctorum novembris), Brussels, 1902.
- DEVOS, *La date*: Devos, Paul, "La date du voyage d'Egérie," *Analecta Bollandiana* 85 (1967), 165-94.
- Didascalia*: *Didascalia et Constitutiones Apostolorum*, ed. F. X. Funk, 2 vols, Paderborn, 1905.
- DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*: Dmitrievskij, A., *Bogosluženie strastnoj i paskhalnoj sedmits vo sv. Ierusalime IX-X v.*, Kazan, 1894.
- , *Drevneiše*: Dmitrievskij, A., *Drevneiše Patriaršie Tipikoni: Svjatogrobiskij Ierusalimij i Velikoj Konstantinopolskoj Tserkvi*, Kiev, 1907.
- , *Khilandarskij Sinaksar*: Dmitrievskij, A., "Drevneišij Khilandarskij Sinaksar po ustavu Ierusalimskomu," *Trudy Kievskoj Dухovnoj Akademij* 2 (1905), 473-93.
- , *Opisanie*: Dmitrievskij, A., *Opisanie Liturgičeskikh rukopisei*, 3 vols. (I - *Typica I*; II - *Euchologia*; III - *Typica II*) Kiev-St. Petersburg, 1895-1917.
- , *Typica Addenda*: Dmitrievskij, A., "Typica. Addenda et corrigenda," *Trudy Kievskoj Dухovnoj Akademij* 3 (1896), 527-45.
- DÖLGER, *Lumen Christi*: Dölger, F. J., "Lumen Christi," *Antike und Christentum* 5 (1936), 1-79.
- DUCANGE, *Glossarium*: Ducange, C. du Fresne, *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediae et infimae graecitatis*, Lyon, 1688, Photomechanical reprint by Akademischen Druck-u. Verlagsanstalt, Graz, 1958.
- EBERSOLT, *Sainte-Sophie*: Ebersolt, J., *Sainte-Sophie de Constantinople*, Paris, 1910.
- EHRHARD, *Überlieferung*: Ehrhard, A., *Überlieferung und Bestand der hagiographischen und homiletischen Literatur der griechischen Kirche*, 3 vols (TU 50-52), Leipzig, 1936-52.
- ETHERIE, *Journal*: Ethérie, *Journal de voyage*, ed. Hélène Pétré (Sources chrétiennes 21), Paris, 1948.
- EUSTRATIADIS, *Catalogue Lavra*: Spyridon (monk of Lavra) and Eustratiades, Sophronios, *Catalogue of the Greek Manuscripts in the Library of the Laura on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, 1925.
- EUSTRATIADIS, *Catalogue Vatopedi*: Eustratiades, Sophronios, *Catalogue of the Greek manuscripts in the Library of the Monastery of Vatopedi on Mount Athos*, Cambridge, Paris, 1924.

- FOLLIERI, *Initia*: Follieri, H., *Initia hymnorum ecclesiae graecae*, 5 vols. (Studi e testi 211-215), Vatican, 1960-66.
- Fragmenta Chilandarica*: *Fragmenta Chilandarica Paleoslavica*. A) *Sticherarium* (MMB 5,1) ed. Roman Jakobson, Copenhagen, 1956.
- FULCHERIUS, *Gesta*: Fulcherius of Chartres, "Gesta Francorum Hierusalem peregrinantium," *Recueil* III, 311-485, Paris, 1866.
- GARDTHAUSEN, *Catalogus*: Gardthausen, V., *Catalogus codicum Graecorum Sinaiticorum*, Oxford, 1886.
- GASTOUÉ, *Catalogue*: Gastoué, A., *Catalogue des Manuscrits de Musique Byzantine de la Bibliothèque Nationale de Paris et des Bibliothèques publiques de France*, Paris, 1907.
- GIOVANELLI, *Il tipico*: Giovanelli, G., "Il tipico archetipo di Grottaferrata," *Bollettino della Badia Greca di Grottaferrata* N. S. 4 (1950), 17-30; 98-113.
- GOAR, *Euchologion*: Goar, J. ed., *Euchologion sive Rituale Graecorum*, 2nd edition, Paris, 1730.
- Historia Niketa*: "Ἱστορία Νικήτα κληρικοῦ," edited with a foreword by A. Papadopoulos-Kerameus in *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskij Sbornik* 13 (1894-95), 2nd fascicule, pp. I-XII; 1-12.
- Horologion, Grottaferrata 1677*: "Ὡρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ Ἀγίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἐκπαλαί τάξιν οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τυπικὸν τοῦ τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης μοναστηρίου, Rome, 1677.
- Hymns of The Octoechus*: *The Hymns of The Octoechus*, transcribed by H. J. W. Tillyard, Part I (MMB 3), Copenhagen, 1940.
- Itinerarium Egeriae*: "Itinerarium Egeriae," *Itinerarii et alia geographica* (CC 175 — Series Latina) pp. 29-90, Turnhout, 1965.
- JACOB, *Histoire du formulaire*: Jacob, A. *Histoire du formulaire grec de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome I*, Louvain, 1968.
- JANERAS, *La partie vespérale*: Janeras, V., "La partie vespérale de la Liturgie byzantine des Présanctifiés," *OCP* 30 (1964), 193-222.
- JANIN, *La géographie*: Janin, R., *La géographie ecclésiastique de l'Empire Byzantin*, Vol. III, Paris, 1953.
- JEREMIAS, *Pascha*: Jeremias, J., "Πάσχα," Kittel, *Theologisches Wörterbuch zum Neuen Testament* 5, 895-903, Stuttgart, 1954.
- KARABINOV, *Postnaja Triod*: Karabinov, I., *Postnaja Triod*, St. Petersburg, 1910.
- KEKELIDZE, *Ierusalimskij Kanonar*: Kekelidze, K., *Ierusalimskij Kanonar VII veka*, Tiflis, 1912.
- KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĭeskie*: Kekelidze, K., *Liturgiĭeskie Gruzinskie Pamjatniki v oteĭestvennykh knigokhraniliščakh*, Tiflis, 1908.
- KHITROWO, *Vie et pèlerinage*: "Vie et pèlerinage de Daniel, Hégoumène russe, 1106-1107," in Khitrowo, B. de (trans.), *Itinéraires russes en Orient* I, 1, Geneva, 1889.
- KIPRIAN, *Evkharistia*: Kiprian (Kern), Archimandrite, *Evkharistia*, Paris, 1947.
- KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*: Klameth, G., *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder der heiligen Grabeskirche* (Studien und Mitteilungen aus dem kirchengeschichtlichen Seminar der theologischen Fakultät der k. k. Universität in Wien 13), Vienna, 1913.
- KNIAZEFF, *La lecture*: Kniazeff, A., "La lecture de l'Ancien et du Nouveau Testament dans le rite byzantin," Cassien-Botte, *La Prière des heures* (Lex orandi 35), pp. 201-252, Paris, 1963.

- KOHLER, *Un rituel*: Kohler, C., "Un rituel et un bréviaire du saint-Sépulchre de Jérusalem (XIIe-XIIIe siècle)," *Revue de l'Orient latin* 8 (1900-1901), 383-500.
- KRASNOSELTSEV, *Review of Dmitrievskij, Bogosluženie*: Krasnoseltsev, H., "Review of Dmitrievskij, Bogosluženie," *Vizantijskij Vremennik* 2 (1895), 632-655.
- KRETSCHMAR, *Die frühe Geschichte*: Kretschmar, G., "Die frühe Geschichte der Jerusalmener Liturgie," *Jahrbuch für Liturgik und Hymnologie* 2 (1956), 22-46.
- KUNZE, *Schriftlesung*: Kunze, G., *Die gottesdienstliche Schriftlesung*, Göttingen, 1947.
- LEONTOPOLIS, *Damaskenos*: Λεοντόπολις, Σωφρονίου, "Ὁ ἅγιος Ἰωάννης ὁ Δαμασκηνὸς καὶ τὰ ποιητικὰ αὐτοῦ ἔργα," *Νέα Σιών* 1933 (28), 11-25.
- LIDDELL-SCOTT, *Lexicon*: Liddell, H. G., D. D., and Scott, Robert, D. D., (compilers), *A Greek-English Lexicon*. New edition revised and augmented throughout by H. S. Jones, D. Litt. et al., Oxford, 1925.
- Le livre des cérémonies*: Constantin VII Porphyrogénète, *Le livre des cérémonies*, ed. Albert Vogt, Texte, 2 vols., Commentaire, 2 vols., Paris 1935-40.
- LONGO, *Narrazione*: Longo, A., "Il testo integrale della Narrazione degli abati Giovanni e Sofronio attraverso le Hermeneiai di Nicone," *Rivista di studi bizantini e neoellenici* N. S. 2-3 (XII-XIII) (1965-66), 223-67.
- MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*: Mai, Angelo Card., *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, Rome, 1852-1905.
- MANCINI, *Codices graeci*: Mancini, A., "Codices Graeci Monasterii Messanensis S. Salvatoris," (*Atti della R. Accademia Peloritana* 22,2) Messina, 1907.
- MANSVETOV, *Ustav*: Mansvetov, I., *Tserkovnij Ustav*, Moscow, 1885.
- MATEOS, *Evolution historique*: Mateos, J., S. J., "Evolution historique de la liturgie de saint Jean Chrysostome," *POC* 15 (1965), 333-351; 16 (1966) 3-18, 133-61.
- , *Horologion*: Mateos, J., S. J., "Un horologion inédit de saint-Sabbas. Le Codex sinaïtique grec 863 (IXe siècle)," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* III, 47-76 (Studi e Testi 233), Vatican, 1964.
- , *Lelya-Sapra*: Mateos, J., S. J., *Lelya-Sapra. Essai d'interprétation des matines chaldéennes* (OCA 156), Rome, 1959.
- , *La psalmodie variable*: Mateos, J., S. J., "La psalmodie variable dans l'office byzantin," *Societas Academica Dacromana Acta Philologica et Theologica* 2 (1964), 327-39.
- , *Quelques problèmes*: Mateos, J., S. J., "Quelques problèmes de l'orthros byzantin," *POC* 11 (1969), 17-35, 201-220.
- , *Typicon*: Mateos, J., S. J., *Le typicon de la Grande Eglise, Ms. Sainte-Croix n°. 40, Xe siècle* (OCA 165, 166), 2 vols., Rome, 1962-63.
- , *La vigile cathédrale*: Mateos, J., S. J., "La vigile cathédrale chez Egérie," *OCP* 27 (1961), 281-312.
- MATHEWS, *The Early Churches*: Mathews, T., *The Early Churches of Constantinople. Architecture and Liturgy*. New York, 1972.
- MATRANGA, *Catalogo*: Matranga, F., *Catalogo descrittivo del cartofilacio cioè dei Codici Greci del Monastero del SS. Salvatore dell'Acroterio di Messina*, Handwritten, Messina, 1885.

- MEINARDUS, *The ceremony*: Meinardus, O., "The ceremony of the Holy Fire in the Middle Ages and Today," *Bulletin de la société d'archéologie copte* 16 (1961-62), 243-52.
- MEYER, *Die Haupturkunden*: Meyer, P., *Die Haupturkunden für die Geschichte der Athosklöster*, Leipzig, 1894.
- MINGARELLI, *Graeci codices*: Mingarelli, I. A., *Graeci codices manus scripti apud Nanios patricos Venetos asseruati*, Bologna, 1784.
- MINISCI, *I typikà*: Minisci, T., "I typikà liturgici dell'Italia bizantina," *Bollettino della badia greca di Grottaferrata* 7 (1953), 97-104.
- MIONI, *Codices Graeci*, Mioni, E., *Bibliothecae divi Marci Venetiarum Codices Graeci Manuscripti*, Vol. I, Rome, 1967.
- NAUTIN, *Homélies Paschales*: Nautin, P., *Homélies Paschales: I. Une Homélie inspirée du traité sur la Pâques d'Hippolyte*, (Sources chrétiennes 27), Paris, 1950.
- OMONT, *Inventaire*: Omont Henri, *Inventaire sommaire des manuscrits grecs de la Bibliothèque Nationale et des autres Bibliothèques de Paris et des Départements*, 4 vols., Paris, 1886-98.
- PALIKAROVA VERDEIL, *La musique byzantine*: Palikarova Verdeil, R., *La musique byzantine chez les Bulgares et les Russes (du XIe au XIVe siècle)* (MMB Subsidia 3), Copenhagen, 1953.
- PALLADIUS, *Dialogue*: Palladius, *Dialogus de vita S. Joannis Chrysostomi*, ed. R. P. Coleman-Norton, Cambridge, 1928.
- PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitike Bibliotheke*: Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, Α., *Ἱεροσολυμιτική Βιβλιοθήκη*, 5 vols., St. Petersburg, 1891-1915.
- PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*: Παπαδόπουλος-Κεραμεύς, Α., "Τυπικὸν τῆς ἐν Ἱεροσολύμοις ἐκκλησίας," *Ἀνάλεκτα Ἱεροσολυμιτικῆς Σταχυολογίας* II, 1-254, St. Petersburg, 1894.
- PASINUS, *Codices*: Pasinus, I., *Codices manuscripti bibliothecae regii Taurinensis Athenaei*, 2 vols., Turin, 1749.
- Pentecostarion Venice*, 1801: Πεντηχοστάριον Venice, press of Glykei, 1801.
- PETERSON, *Note*: Peterson, E., "Note on 'ἐπακούειν'," *JFL* 11 (1931), 131.
- PETRIDES, *Le monastère*: Pétridès, S., "Le monastère des Spoudaei à Jérusalem et les Spoudaei de Constantinople," *Echos d'Orient* 4 (1900-1901), 225-31.
- , *Notes*: Pétridès, S., "Notes d'hymnographie byzantine," *Byzantinische Zeitschrift* 13 (1904), 421-28.
- PROCLUS, *Homily 27*: Proclus, "Homily 27," in Leroy, F. J., S. J., *L'homélie de Proclus de Constantinople* (Studi e Testi 247) Vatican, 1967, pp. 184-88 (Introduction); 188-94 (text).
- Prophetologium*: *Prophetologium*, edd. C. Høeg and Günther Zuntz (MMB Lectionaria 1) in course of publication, Copenhagen, 1939.
- PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité*: Pseudo-Kodinos, *Traité des offices*, ed. Jean Verpeaux, Paris, 1966.
- QUASTEN, *Patrology*: Quasten, J., *Patrology*, 3 vols., Westminster, Maryland, 1950-60.
- RADULFUS GLABER, *Historiarum libri*: Radulfus Glaber, *Historiarum libri quinque*, ML 142, 611-698.
- RAES, *Les livres liturgiques*: Raes, A., "Les livres liturgiques grecs publiés à Venise," *Mélanges Eugène Tisserant* III, 209-222. (Studi e Testi 233), Vatican, 1964.

- RAHLFS, *Die Lektionen*: Rahlfs, A., "Die alttestamentlichen Lektionen der griechischen Kirche," *Mitteilungen des Septuaginta-Unternehmens der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* V, 122-230, Berlin, 1915.
- Recueil*: *Recueil des historiens des croisades. Historiens occidentaux*, 5 tomes, 7 vols., Paris, 1844-95.
- RENOUX, *Les Catéchèses*: Renoux, A., "Les Catéchèses mystagogiques dans l'organisation liturgique hiérosolymitaine du IVe et du Ve siècle," *Le Muséon* 78 (1965), 355-59.
- , *Le Codex Arménien*: Renoux, Dom A., *Le Codex Arménien Jérusalem 121: I. Introduction aux origines de la liturgie hiérosolymitaine. Lumières nouvelles*. (Patrologia Orientalis 35, Fascicule 1, No. 163), Turnhout, 1969.
- , *Erévan 985*: Renoux, Dom A., "Le Codex Erévan 985: Une adaptation arménienne du Lectionnaire Hiérosolymitain," *Armeniaca. Mélanges d'études arméniennes*, Venice, 1969, pp. 45-66.
- , *Liturgie*: Renoux, Dom A., "Liturgie de Jérusalem et lectionnaire arméniens. Vigiles et année liturgique," *Cassien-Botte, Prière des heures* (Lex orandi 35), pp. 167-99, Paris, 1963.
- , *Un manuscrit*: Renoux, Dom A., "Un manuscrit du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. arm. 121)," *Le Muséon* 74 (1961), 361-85.
- , *Un manuscrit, Addenda*: Renoux, Dom A., "Un manuscrit du lectionnaire arménien de Jérusalem (Cod. Jerus. arm. 121), Addenda et corrigenda," *Le Muséon* 75 (1962), 385-98.
- RICHARD, *Répertoire*: Richard, M., *Répertoire des bibliothèques et des catalogues de manuscrits grecs*, Paris, 1958.
- ROCCHI, *Codices*: Rocchi, Dom A., *Codices Cryptenses seu Abbatiae Cryptae Ferratae in Tusculano digesti et illustrati*, Tusculo, 1883.
- ROMANOS, *Cantica*: Romanos, *Cantica Genuina*, edd. Paul Maas and C. A. Trypanis, Oxford, 1963.
- ROSSI, *Catalogo*: Rossi, S., "Catalogo dei codici greci dell'antico monasterio del SS. Salvatore," *Archivio Storico Messinese* II (1902) fasc. 3-4, 78-101; III (1903) single fascicule, 157-68; IV (1903) fasc. 1-2, 123-50 and fasc. 3-4, 304-31; V (1904) fasc. 1-2, 127-49 and fasc. 3-4, 138-58.
- SAKKELION, *Patmiake Bibliotheke*: Σακελλίων, Ι., *Πατμιακή Βιβλιοθήκη*, Athens, 1890.
- SAUNDERS, *Checklist Athos*: Saunders, Ernest, *A Descriptive Checklist of Selected Manuscripts in the Monasteries of Mount Athos*, Washington, 1957.
- SCHMALTZ, *Das heilige Feuer*: Schmaltz, K., "Das heilige Feuer in der Grabeskirche im Zusammenhang mit der kirchlichen Liturgie und den antiken Lichtriten," *Palästina-jahrbuch* 13 (1917), 53-99.
- SCHMIDT, *Die Feier*: Schmidt, B., "Die Feier des heiligen Feuers in der Grabeskirche," *Palästina-jahrbuch* 11 (1915), 85-118.
- SCHMIDT, *Hebdomada Sancta*: Schmidt, H., S. J., *Hebdomada Sancta*, 2 vols. Rome, 1956.
- SCHNORR VON KAROLSFELD, *Catalog*: Schnorr von Karolsfeld, Franz, *Katalog der Handschriften der königl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Dresden*, Leipzig, 1882.
- SERGII, *Polnij Mesjatsoslov*: Sergii (Spaskii), Archbishop, *Polnij Mesjatsoslov Vostoka*, 2 vols., Vladimir, 1901.

- SKABALLANOVICH, *Tolkovij Tipikon*: Skaballanovich, M., *Tolkovij Tipikon* I, Kiev, 1910 (studied in the photomechanical reprint of the entire work, 3 tomes in one volume, Rome, 1967).
- SMITH LEWIS, *Lectioary*: Smith Lewis, Agnes, *A Palestinian Syriac Lectioary* (Studia Sinaitica 6), London, 1897.
- SOZOMENOS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*: Sozomenos, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, MG 67.
- STEVENSON, *Codices Pal Gr*: Stevenson, Henry, *Codices manuscripti Palatini graeci Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Vatican, 1885.
- STEVENSON, *Codices Reg Gr*: Stevenson, Henry, *Codices manuscripti graeci Reginae Suecorum et Pii Papae II Bibliothecae Vaticanae*, Vatican, 1888.
- Sticherarium*: *Sticherarium. Codex Vindobonensis Theol Graec.* 181 photographically reproduced, edd. Carsten Hoeg, H. J. W. Tillyard and Egon Wellesz (MMB 1), Copenhagen, 1935.
- STRUNK, *The Byzantine Office*: Strunk, O., "The Byzantine Office at Hagia Sophia," *Dumbarton Oak Papers* 9-10 (1955-56), 175-202.
- , *Further Note*: Strunk, O., "A Further Note on The Proper Hymns of Easter," *Classica et medievalia* 27 (1961), 176-181.
- , *Notation*: Strunk, O., "The Notation of The Chartres Fragment," *Annales musicologiques* 3 (1955), 7-37.
- , *St. Gregory Nazianzus*: Strunk, O., "St. Gregory Nazianzus and The Proper Hymns for Easter," *Late Classical and Medieval Studies in Honor of Albert Mathias Friend, Jr.*, pp. 82-87, Princeton, 1955.
- , *Specimina*: Strunk, O., *Specimina notationum antiquiorum*, Pars Suppletoria (MMB 7), Copenhagen 1965-66.
- SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *De Sacra Precatione*: Symeon of Thessalonika, *De Sacra Precatione*, PG 155, 535-670.
- TARCHNISCHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire*: Tarchnischvili, M. (ed.), *Le grand lectionnaire de l'Eglise de Jérusalem* (CSCO 188-Scriptores Iberici 9), Louvain, 1959.
- TARCHNISVILI, *Geschichte*: Tarchnischvili, M., *Geschichte der kirchlichen georgischen Literatur* (Studi e Testi 185), Vatican, 1955.
- , *Zwei Lektionarfragmente*: Tarchnischvili, M., "Zwei georgische Lektionarfragmente aus dem 5 und 6 Jahrhundert," *Kyrios* 6 (1942), 1-26.
- TARDO, *L'Ottoeco*: Tardo, Dom L., *L'Ottoeco nei manoscritti melurgici*, Grottaferrata, 1955.
- THEODORE STUDITE, *Sermon on Easter*: Theodore Studite, "Λόγος Γ' κατηχητικός. Τῇ Ἁγίᾳ Μεγάλῃ Κυριακῇ τοῦ Πάσχα," Mai Cardinal Angelo, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca* V, 3, pp. 24-33.
- THEODORETUS, *Historia*: Theodoretus, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, MG 82, 881-1280.
- THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices*: Thibaut, J.-B., *Ordre des offices de la Semaine Sainte à Jérusalem du IVe au Xe siècle*, Paris, 1926.
- TILLYARD, *Hymns of The Pentecostarion*: Tillyard, H. J. W., *The Hymns of The Pentecostarion* (MMB Transcripta 7), Copenhagen, 1960.
- TOBLER and MOLINIER, *Itinera*: Tobler, T., and Molinier, G., (edd.) *Itinera Hierosolymitana*, 2 vols., Geneva, 1879.
- Typicon*, Venice 1545: Τυπικὸν καὶ τὰ ἀπόρρητα, Venice: Press of de Sabio, 1545.
- Typicon*, Constantinople 1888: Τυπικόν, Constantinople, 1888.

- VAN DE PAVERD, *Zur Geschichte*: Van de Pavard, Fr., *Zur Geschichte der Messliturgie in Antiocheia und Konstantinopel gegen Ende des 4 Jahrhunderts* (OCA 186), Rome, 1970.
- VEDEVITINOV, *Žit'e*: Venevitinov, M., ed., "Žit'e i khožene Danila russkyja zemli igumena," *Pravoslavnyj Palestinskiy Sbornik* 3 (1885), 1-141 (142-257: indices).
- VINCENT-ABEL, *Jérusalem*: Vincent, Hughes, O. P., and Abel, F.-M., O. P., *Jérusalem, Recherches de topographie, d'archéologie, et d'histoire*, Vol. II, Paris, 1914.
- WENGER, *Hésychius*: Wenger, A., "Hesychius de Jérusalem," *Revue des études augustiniennes* 2 (1956), 457-70.
- ZERFASS, *Die Schriflesung*: Zerfass, R., *Die Schriflesung im Kathedralofizium Jerusalems* (Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 48), Münster, 1968.

INTRODUCTION

The history of the development of the Easter services is one in which there concur the influences of various liturgical centers of the Byzantine Empire, as in the case of the Byzantine liturgy as a whole. We have chosen to set as the term of our study of this evolution the early printed Typicon of Saint Sabba published at Venice by the de Sabio brothers in 1545¹. This work is among the earliest editions of the Typicon, if not actually the earliest. The use of the printing press to reproduce the Greek liturgical books was to be of the greatest importance in the standardization of the liturgical services in the Byzantine world. While the Typicon of Sabba had by this time gained predominance as the universally accepted regulator of the liturgical services in the Orthodox Church, the printing press assured an even greater textual uniformity than was possible in a period when the Typica were copied by hand from various slightly different versions. The evolution of the Easter services beyond these early printed Typica was to continue, nonetheless, with regards to one or other point.

Previous to this uniformity, however, there existed a long period in which the various liturgical centers of the Byzantine Empire maintained something of a relative independance in the ordering of their liturgical services; relative, because *de facto* no individual center existed in complete isolation from the others in terms of liturgical practice. Even the Great Church itself which more than any other could lay claim to such individuality underwent influence from monastic Typica in the later period of its history. The services standardized in the printed Typicon of Saint Sabba were the result of a creative interplay between the various liturgical centers of the empire. While this statement is true in some measure of the Byzantine services as a whole, it is eminently so in the case of the Easter offices, presenting as they do so many differences from the ordinary series of weekly and yearly celebrations.

The two great centers, that of the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and that of Hagia Sophia at Constantinople, may be said to

¹ Cf. *Typicon, Venice* 1545.

be the great sources for the elaboration of the services. From these the various monastic centers were to take their inspiration for the ordering of their own services. Thus in the first two sections of our study, we propose to study the liturgy of each of these centers during the period for which we have liturgical documents witnessing to their practice.

While both of these were to have an influence on practically all of the later monastic Typica, the relative importance of each was to depend, in part, on the geographical position of the monastery, and, in part, on the period during which the Typicon of a given monastery was composed.

In addition to this there is the fact that certain greater monasteries exerted considerable influence on smaller ones in their orbit. Sometimes this even resulted in the adoption by the lesser monasteries of the Typicon of the larger one. The two most important names in this connection are those of the Studion and of Saint Sabba. Prior to the 12th century, the Typicon of the former was almost universally used throughout the Byzantine monastic world. Afterwards, that of Sabba was to inherit this predominance. Corresponding to this shift from Studion to Sabba we find monasteries which changed their original Typicon (inspired by that of the Studion) to that of Sabba. Thus, in the Georgian monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos, the primitive Studite-type Typicon of St. George Mtatsmindeli was eventually replaced by that of the monastery of Shio-Mgimve, which is, practically speaking, a copy of the Sabba Typicon. Some monasteries (the Italo-Greek ones in particular) were less subject to such changes because of their distance from the center of the Byzantine world. Hence, they maintained their primitive Studite-type Typica. Indeed, thanks to them, we are able to study a tradition, which, precisely because of the wholesale adoption of the Sabba books, would otherwise be largely a mystery to us. We propose then to study in the third section each of these traditions.

The object of our research will be the series of rites beginning with Vespers on Holy Saturday evening and continuing without significant interruption, according to the Typicon of Sabba, through Orthros of Easter. We will study also the Easter morning Liturgy, inasmuch as this is linked with Orthros in current practice.

In the strictest historical sense, the expression "Paschal Vigil" is applicable only to the Vesper celebration with its Liturgy. As we shall see, however, this service never served as the context for the creation of any considerable amount of liturgical poetry.

In large measure concerned with the theme of baptism, it left little scope for the development of the theme of the Resurrection. Orthros, however, which is hardly mentioned in the early Jerusalem documents and the Typicon of Hagia Sophia, became the area in which Byzantine hymnographers found scope for the expression of their understanding of the Paschal mystery. Apart from the texts still in current use, there are well over a hundred Stichera provided in various manuscript collections for this service on Sunday and throughout Easter week. This shift of emphasis led to the replacement of Vespers by Orthros as the concrete liturgical context for the present day "Vigil". Whether such a transer was opportune may be open to question, but the fact remains that the core of the Easter celebration of the Orthodox Church lies here.

THE TRADITION OF JERUSALEM

SECTION ONE

THE TRADITION OF JERUSALEM

CHAPTER ONE

GENERAL DESCRIPTION OF THE DOCUMENTS STUDIED

1. Peregrinatio Egeriae

This document is generally considered by scholars to date from the end of the fourth or the beginning of the fifth century. Pétré sets 363 as a *terminus a quo*, this being the date of the Persian occupation of Nisibis, a state of affairs still obtaining during Egeria's visit (XX, 12)². The *terminus ad quem* would be determined by Justinian's transformation of the church and monastery of Sinai between 527 and 557, since Egeria's description of the buildings does not correspond to these changes. Further, the destruction of Antioch by Chosroes in 540 provides a more precise limit for Egeria's visit to this city.

Others have tried to determine the date more precisely. Baumstark identifies two of the bishops mentioned in the course of Egeria's trip to Edessa as Eulogios of Edessa and Protogenes of Carrhae³, both of whom are spoken of by Theodoretus⁴. He thus settles for the period 383-385 as the date of this trip. Recently, Devos⁵ adopting the position of Baumstark, has attempted to determine the date even more precisely. Calculating the date of Easter for each of the years suggested by Baumstark, he finds that only 384 was a plausible date for the trip, as in any other year Easter was too close to April 19, the date of Egeria's arrival in Edessa. One would have to suppose either that she celebrated Easter along the way (which she does not mention) or that she remained in Jerusalem for the feast and then left afterwards. In

² ETHERIE, *Journal*, p. 14; The references to Egeria in this study are from the edition found in the Bibliography as *Itinerarium Egeriae*.

³ BAUMSTARK, *Das Alter*, p. 75.

⁴ THEODORETUS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, cols. 1153-60.

⁵ DEVOS, *La date*, pp. 165-94, who also summarizes earlier studies.

the latter supposition only in 384 would there have been enough time between Easter and April 19 for a trip of about 24 days⁶.

2. The Armenian Lectionary (=ARM)

Dom Renoux⁷ has gathered together a considerable amount of manuscript material concerning this lectionary, either in the form of actual lectionaries or of other types of literature which throw light on them. Of the lectionaries, the following have been the most useful for our purposes:

1) *Bibliothèque National Arménien* 44 (=P) from which Conybeare presented a list of pericopes along with a translation of the rubrics⁸. Both Conybeare and Renoux judge it to be of the ninth or tenth century⁹.

2) *Codex Jerus. armen.* 121 (=J). Renoux published a list of its pericopes along with a translation of the rubrics in *Le Muséon*¹⁰. It was written in 1192 in the monastery of Maškevor in Cilicia.

3) *Erévan* 985 (=Er). This manuscript written in the 9th-10th century is another example of the ancient type of lectionary. Renoux has recently published its text¹¹. While it preserves elements which were previously found to be proper either to J or P, Renoux judges it to date from a later period than either of these two. Rather than being a translation of a later Greek Typicon of the Anastasis, it seems to have been elaborated from the earlier Armenian translations.

4) *Codex Bodleian Armenian D 2* (=B), which Conybeare uses to supply for lacunae in P, represents a later stage of development. He dates it as 14th century at the latest¹².

This lectionary in its earlier form, represented by the manuscripts P and J, which date from the fifth century, describes a

⁶ *Ibid.*, pp. 176-77.

⁷ Cf. especially *Un manuscrit, Liturgie*, and more recently, *Le Codex Arménien* and *Erévan* 985.

⁸ CONYBEARE, *Rituale*, Appendix II (pp. 507-27).

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 507; RENOUX, *Le Codex*, p. 29.

¹⁰ Cf. RENOUX, *Un manuscrit*. The references to the lectionary in the course of this study are to this work. A more complete edition by Renoux is in course of publication in *Patrologia Orientalis*. (cf. RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*.)

¹¹ Cf. RENOUX, *Erévan* 985. The material concerning the Vigil and Easter Sunday services is found on pp. 53-55.

¹² CONYBEARE, *Rituale*, p. xv; RENOUX, *Le Codex*, p. 30.

liturgy of specifically Jerusalem type. Two items help in determining the date more precisely: 1) the mention in the lectionary of several stations at the Martyrium of St. Stephen and 2) the absence of the feast of the Nativity on December 25¹³. In this more recent study Renoux has shown that the latter is not very helpful in view of the present state of our knowledge concerning the introduction, suppression, and re-introduction of this feast on December 25 in the Holy City¹⁴.

As regards the *terminus ad quem* of the lectionary, he points to the fact that the lectionary's celebration of the *depositio* of the Prophet Isaiah on July 6 does not correspond to the transference of this celebration to August 25 after the year 442, when the relics of the prophet were believed to be found. That portion of the relics kept for the city of Jerusalem were placed in a martyrium built by the bishop, Juvenal, in the valley of Kedron, where the new *depositio* was celebrated. Thus, the lectionary with its celebration of the *depositio* on July 6 must date from before 442.

With regards the *terminus a quo*, we must return to the other criterion mentioned above, namely the Martyrium of St. Stephen in which ARM situates several of its stations. Mention of this Martyrium naturally makes us think of the great edifice which was ready for use only from May 15, 439. Renoux shows, however, that a previous Martyrium in the saint's honor existed on Mount Sion from December, 415, when the saint's relics were discovered. Thus ARM's expression, "Martyrium of St. Stephen" may be understood of the earlier building and we are no longer forced to regard 439 as a *terminus a quo*, but rather 415, the date of the discovery of the relics. Another item, however, forces us to place this a little later. The last bishop of Jerusalem commemorated by ARM is John († 417). GEORG was to continue this list as far as Sallust († 494). Thus Renoux is able to set the termini for the elaboration of the lectionary as 417 and 439.

Even within the relatively restricted ambitus of these years, Renoux has shown that the content of J and P are sufficiently different to indicate two different periods of composition. J preserves certain ancient rites lost by the time of P, and it shows greater conformity to the services described by Egeria¹⁵. The direction of this evolution seems to be a reduction of the pericopes used at various services and an attempt at creating a greater har-

¹³ RENOUX, *Le Codex*, p. 171 who summarizes previous studies on pp. 169-71.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 171-73.

¹⁵ RENOUX, *Le Codex*, p. 183.

mony between a given reading and either the station where it takes place or the event commemorated.

Later Armenian lectionaries tend to show influence of these two "types" with the important exceptions of Venice 169 which presents the particularities of *J* alone and Codex Bodl. D 2, which represents the particularities of *P* alone.

3. The Georgian Lectionary

(= GEORG or GEORG JER, when necessary to distinguish it from SABBA, cf. below)

In his edition of this document Tarnischvili¹⁶ presents the readings of four manuscripts: Bibliothèque Nationale Géorgien 3 (= *P*), a manuscript of the 10-11th century; Sinai 37 (= *S*), probably copied by John Zozimus, a Sinai scribe, in the year 982; Mestia 635 (= *L*) of Lathal, 10th century; Kala (= *Ka*) 10th century. In the earlier and less complete edition of Kekelidze¹⁷, the basic text is that of *L* with several borrowings from *Ka*. Tarnischvili provides variants from Kekelidze's edition under the symbol "*K*" in his critical apparatus. He is not clear, however, as to which of the two manuscripts used by Kekelidze is represented by this symbol. In the case of the Easter Vigil, a comparison with Kekelidze's text shows that the variants presented here in connection with the symbol "*K*" are clearly from Kekelidze's reading of the Kala manuscript.

All of the manuscripts have lacunae with the sole exception of *S*. *P* serves as his basic text until the middle of the eighth reading of the Paschal Vigil where there is a lacuna which continues to the end of the entry on Easter. For this reason, *L* serves in this function for the remainder of the feast. *S* and the variants of Kekelidze also cover the Easter feast. *S* is of special interest in that it gives a parallel account of the Easter Vigil at the monastery of St. Sabba. It also contains a second part which, in addition to a resume of the structure of the services given in the first

¹⁶ Cf. TARNISCHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire*. The references to the lectionary in this study are to this edition. Scriptural quotations in Latin are Tarnischvili's translations from the Georgian. The fragments of two Georgian lectionaries presented by him in *Zwei Lektionarfragmente*, although they date back respectively to the 5th and 6th centuries, seem to belong to another tradition than that of Jerusalem. Cf. RENOUX, *Le Codex*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁷ Cf. KEKELIDZE, *Ierusalimskij Kanonar*.

part, provides the full text of certain of the hymns. Unfortunately, no texts are given for the Easter celebration. There is, however, a helpful note on the order of the elements which surround each of the readings of the Vigil according to the Sabba tradition. This we refer to throughout the text as GEORG SABBA. With regards to topology, *P* represents the most faithful witness of the original Jerusalem churches used for the various celebrations; *L* and *Ka* were used in Georgia and consequently lose contact to some extent with the Jerusalem topography.

There is general agreement today that the Georgian Lectionary represents a later stage of development in the Jerusalem liturgy¹⁸. The stational organization of the services reflects the changes caused by the Arab destructions, as Renoux has pointed out¹⁹. More precisely, there is express mention of the emperor, Maurice (588-602) under the heading of August 15²⁰. Further, the patriarch, Modestos, († 634) is mentioned in the calendar²¹. Abel also says that Dmitrievskij pointed out that two Troparia (one for Christmas and another for Palm Sunday) are attributed to Andrew of Jerusalem (died between 712 and 726)²². Finally, the commemoration of Abo of Tiflis in *P* and *L* puts us after 786, the date of this latter's martyrdom²³. In any case, Byzantine influence is not yet in evidence with regards to the cursus of the readings, as in the case of HS 43. Tarnischvili in his edition does not attempt to fix the period whose liturgical practice is represented by the lectionary. He simply affirms that "la première souche ... remonte sûrement au Ve siècle". Renoux also stresses the fact that the liturgical content reflects in many respects an archaic liturgy, one which often parallels, as we shall see, the practice of the Armenian lectionary²⁴.

The reasoning concerning the age of the liturgy described in the lectionary with regard to Jerusalem practice does not necessarily apply to that of Sabba, described in *S*. While we may fix the eighth century as a *terminus a quo*, there is no assurance that it is *de facto* as old as that. However, the series of readings for

¹⁸ RENOUX, *Un manuscrit*, p. 174.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 175.

²⁰ CAPELLE, *La fête*, p. 3.

²¹ ABEL, *Review of Ierusalimskij Kanonar*, p. 454.

²² *Ibid.*, p. 254 without giving a precise reference as to where Dmitrievskij says this.

²³ G. GARITTE, *Le calendrier Palestino-Géorgien du Sinaiticus 34 (Xe siècle)* (Studia Hagiographica 30) Brussels, 1958, pp. 126-127 cited by RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 24, note 42.

²⁴ RENOUX, *Liturgie*, p. 174.

the Easter Vigil is identical with that of the early Jerusalem practice as represented both by ARM and GEORG. As a matter of fact, in GEORG SABBA we find Ps 112 at the beginning of the service in a position analogous to that of ARM, whereas in GEORG JER it is already placed in the context of the complicated psalmody which accompanies the initial processions. Thus the ensemble of the elements described by GEORG SABBA differs considerably from the later Sabba Typicon, the earliest copies of which seem to stem from the 11th century. If the Easter services described in GEORG SABBA truly correspond to the actual practice of the time when the manuscript was written (982 A. D.), the period between 982 A. D. and some time in the 11th century when the first copies of the Typicon appeared must have been a crucial one in the evolution of the Typicon of Sabba.

4. Codex Jerusalem Patriarchate Hagios Stauros 43

(= HS 43)

This document, which consists of a Typicon and complete texts of liturgical poetry and prayers for Holy Week and Easter Week, was first published in 1894²⁵. A postscript tells us that

²⁵ Dmitrievskij who found a copy of it in a manuscript written in 1804 by Archimandrite Maximos Symaios began work in 1888 on an edition based on this copy, as the original was not then available to him, and he believed the work of Maximos to be dependable. A few months before his edition appeared in 1894 under the title, *Bogosluženie Stratsnoj i Paskhalnoj Sedmits vo Sv. Ierusalime IX-X v.*, however, Papadopoulos-Kerameus published an edition based on the original text, which he had found in the library of the Jerusalem Patriarchate. (cf. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, *Typicon*). The text of Maximos proved to be deficient in many ways. Dmitrievskij, however, continued his research, and after a personal study of the original manuscript he published in 1907 his *Drevnešie Patriarškie Tipikoni: Sejatogrobskij Ierusalimskij i Velikoj Konstantinopolskoj Tserkvi*. This work, although incomplete in some ways, constitutes the best study of the Typicon which we have. After a brief history of how the manuscript came to light, Dmitrievskij describes the inaccuracies and inconsistencies of Papadopoulos-Kerameus' edition and provides textual corrections for the latter's text based on his own study of the original. Subsequent chapters treat of the problem of dating and of the relationship of interdependence between the liturgical practice of Jerusalem and that of Constantinople. Briefer treatment of the problem of dating is found in BAUMSTARK, *Die Heiligtümer*, pp. 227-89 and later, with rectification of certain points in his *Denkmäler*, pp. 1-32. Dmitrievskij's original edition based on Maximos Symaios' work is still valuable for its Introduction and Commentary on

the manuscript was copied from an earlier document and adapted by the scribe Basil in the year 1122 at the command of George "... ἄρχων καὶ κριτὴς τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως καὶ σακελλίου χαρτοφύλακος τε καὶ μεγάλου σκευοφύ(λακος) τῆς ... Ἀναστάσεως ...". Prayers of the readers are asked for George and the copyist himself. Nothing, it is said, should be added or subtracted from the text²⁶.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus in the Preface to his edition assumed that the Typicon was still in use in the Anastasis at this time. Dmitrievskij, however²⁷, showed that such an assumption was not tenable, principally because many of the sacred buildings in which the Typicon situates certain of its offices were no longer standing by this time. The Arab destruction of the Holy City by Hakim in 1009 had destroyed many of them. Also, the year 1122 was well into the time of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, a period in which the services in the Anastasis were presided over by the Latin clergy and during which the Orthodox Patriarch no longer resided in the Holy City²⁸, a state of affairs drastically opposed to the circumstances of the Typicon where the offices in the Holy Places are presided over in great splendor by the Orthodox Patriarch and his clergy. A concrete example of conditions during the Latin Kingdom is provided (from an Orthodox point of view) by Higumen Daniel's account of the Holy Saturday and Easter services in Jerusalem sometime during the period 1106-1108²⁹. The Greek clergy play a very humble role in the Anastasis, and the highest dignitary mentioned as being present seems to be the Higumen of Sabba and not the patriarch.

In view of these facts, we are able to conclude that when the Typicon was copied in the year 1122, it was no longer a document destined for real use, but rather as something to be preserved in the archives. The question remains then, at what period in the history of the Jerusalem church was the Typicon in actual use? Dmitrievskij settles for the first half of the tenth century on the basis of the names of various persons to whom are attributed certain of the hymns³⁰, and more especially of the mention of the

the text. It is to be noted that in this work the text of the Typicon is cited in line with the corrections of Dmitrievskij indicated on pp. 41-59 of *Drevnešie*.

²⁶ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, pp. 252-53.

²⁷ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, pp. 84-105.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92, note 2.

²⁹ Cf. VENEVITINOV, *Žit'e*, pp. I-V.

³⁰ Mark of Otranto (beginning of the 10th century) is the latest mentioned; cf. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 164.

Patriarch Nicholas whose name occurs in one of the litanies³¹. It would seem that the patriarch in question was the Nicholas who reigned from 932 to 945.

The question, however, is somewhat complicated by the fact that there are references here and there in the text comparing later practice with the earlier. There is, for instance, the mention of the fact that the Palm Sunday procession from Gethsemani proceeded (in the time of the scribe) "εἰς τὰ Ἁγία τῶν Ἀγίων", a reference to the Temple area. The Christian possession of this area, however, was limited to the period of the Latin Kingdom. Thus, we must assume at least two strata of material in the text.

Baumstark likewise establishes the destruction of Jerusalem by Hakim in 1009 as a *terminus ante quem* for the dating of the Typicon. In an earlier study³², he set the period, however, of the elaboration of the Typicon's earlier stratum optimistically back to the beginning of the eighth century on the basis of the manuscript's designation of the Church of the Praetorium as Ἁγία Σοφία. Besides, he maintained that the reference to the use of the Temple area was to be attributed to the period of John Tsimisceas (969-976), whom he believed to have recaptured this area. In a later work, however, he retracted these two positions and affirmed that the later stratum pertained to the period of the Latin Kingdom while the earlier one dated back to the time of Photius († 887) who is mentioned in the document. He maintains that the full liturgical texts given by the manuscript are to be attributed to the earlier stratum³³.

The document is of capital importance in the history of the liturgy in Jerusalem. It marks the departure from earlier Jerusalem practice in two important points. First of all, the cursus of readings in the document shows the gradual supplantation of the original Jerusalem ordo of readings by that of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople. The process was not one of absolute substitution of one cursus for the other, and the older ordo is preserved in certain areas³⁴. This may be considered one phase of a larger process of a tendency of Constantinople to impose its Typicon on other churches in its orbit. Dmitrievskij who studies this process in Chapter III of his *Drevnešie* establishes the period of this overall influence of the Hagia Sophia Typicon as extending from the

³¹ *Ibid.*, p. 26.

³² BAUMSTARK, *Heiligtümer*, pp. 282-89.

³³ BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 19-20. Photios is mentioned in PAPA-DOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 78.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 20-21.

seventh to the tenth and eleventh centuries, a period of peaceful times for the capital and one in which the prestige of the Oecumenical Patriarch was great³⁵. Ehrhardt suggests that it would stem more precisely from the period following the Council in Trullo (692 A.D.). He proposes that part of the Council's work would have been an attempt to centralize the organization of the calendar and lectionary and to protect the East from inroads of the West³⁶. Secondly, the earlier liturgical poetry proper to Jerusalem which GEORG S (part II) and, to a lesser extent, ARM had preserved, has now been replaced by the monastic liturgical poetry to such a great extent that, practically speaking, the genres (particularly the Canon) and specific texts of the Typicon coincide with those of Sabba.

This latter phenomenon seems to be indicative of a growing influence of monastic centers on the church of Jerusalem. Dmitrievskij³⁷ has shown the important place assigned to the Spoudaioi monks even in the performance of certain services in the complex of buildings of the Holy Sepulchre. In some cases these monks participate in the celebration along with the other clergy in the presence of the patriarch (e.g. the second set of "Hours" on Good Friday at Golgotha). In other cases they alone perform the services in the shrines (e.g. the first set of "Hours" on Good Friday at the Ἁγία Κορυφή, the Agrypnia of Palm Sunday in the Basilica, which they perform up until the Canon, at which point the patriarch enters, and these monks retire to their monastery to finish Orthros there, and finally, the Agrypnia on the night before Holy Saturday in the Anastasis). On the basis of the material presented by HS 43 with regard to these monks Dmitrievskij concludes that with probability the Typicon they used was "... the common Typicon which in the twelfth century became predominant in liturgical practice in the entire Orthodox East under the name of the Typicon of Jerusalem or Typicon of the monastery of Saint Sabba, very probably taken over for its own

³⁵ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, pp. 115-16; 209 ff.

³⁶ Cf. EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* I, 33. The preponderant influence of SOPH is likewise to be seen in the proper parts of the Liturgy in HS 43. In this, it is similar to the Sabba Typicon which underwent the same influence. No doubt, some of the organization of the clerical staff of the Anastasis was inspired by that of the capital. The same is perhaps true of some of the liturgical solemnity of the celebrations. In these latter points, HS 43 differs from Sabba, where the monastic context dictates a more sober celebration by the monks themselves, the diversity of clergy being far less great.

³⁷ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, pp. 85-91; 111-13.

purposes by the already elaborated Typicon of the Spoudaioi monks in Jerusalem" ³⁸.

The important point is that already within HS 43 we are made aware of a second, (monastic) Typicon used in the Anastasis itself for the particular services which are entrusted to these monks. This foothold, so to speak, within the liturgical life of the Jerusalem church assured a possibility of direct influence on the whole series of services of the Cathedral offices.

This possibility was all the stronger in view of the nature of their function, which was precisely to assure the regularity of the services when the local clergy were not present. They can be counted upon to "fill in", so to speak. It is perhaps due to this characteristic that they were called upon during the period of the Latin Kingdom, when the Greek patriarch was in exile, to provide in an even greater way for the Greek services of the Jerusalem Church. The absence of the patriarch necessarily has as a consequence the greater simplification of the services in terms of personnel. Their monastic Typicon admirably suited this set of circumstances. In the account of the Russian higumen, Daniel, we have a precious testimony to the state of affairs during the period of the Latin Kingdom in the course of an account of the Paschal Vigil sometime during the years 1106-08. In this account the principal service is conducted by the Latins, while the Orthodox are left to celebrate in a place assigned to them. Among the Orthodox, there is reference to the priests, but among the notables the most important figure singled out is precisely the Higumen of Saint Sabba along with his brethren. This points significantly to the probable monastic organization of the Greek services during this period ³⁹.

Krasnoseltsev ⁴⁰ attributes to the scribe, Basil, more of the role of a redactor than either Dmitrievskij or Baumstark, thus implying that the more recent stratum brought in more elements than they admit. In this view, it would be possible to ascribe the monastic influence precisely to the period in which the organization of the Greek services would have been in the hands of the Greek monks. Perhaps even the introduction of all the liturgical poetry might stem from this relatively later period. This supposition, however, meets with the problem that when the Typicon

³⁸ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 112; cf. also PETRIDES, *Le monastère*, pp. 225-31.

³⁹ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, pp. 111 ff.

⁴⁰ KRASNOSOLTSEV, Review of DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 642, cited by DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, p. 109.

was copied, the services described were no longer feasible, since many of the buildings had disappeared, and the patriarch was not present. One would have to suppose that the scribe adapted the presumably new monastic elements to an ordo which was no longer of any practical use. It remains possible, however, that he would have undertaken this work of adaptation in view of a hoped-for restoration of the Greek Patriarchate. His work would consist precisely in a setting of the new poetic material of monastic origin within the traditional structures of the Jerusalem church. The proof of such an assertion however, would depend on a thorough study of the contents of the manuscript. Here we may mention it only as a possibility in line with Krasnoseltsev's view.

One final point of the greatest importance is that HS 43 stands at the point of culmination in another process of liturgical development involving the very structure of the office. Zerfass, in a recent study on the readings in the Cathedral office of Jerusalem, has been led to the conclusion that the primitive shape of this Office consisted, on the one hand, in the daily recurring hours of prayer, principally at morning and evening, and, on the other hand, in a series of special services (whose core consisted of Scriptural readings) to celebrate the individual events of the liturgical year. The history of the development of the office would consist in a gradual penetration of these latter services into the very structure of the typical daily offices, a situation which culminates precisely in the document which we must study now.

The process was already at work in GEORG, which reduplicates the ancient Lucernarium found at the beginning of the Vigil with elements from the daily Vesper service: Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron*. By the time of HS 43, the ancient Paschal Vigil has been completely incorporated into the structure of what is, in effect, festal Vespers. A similar process was at work in the assimilation by Vespers of the various independent services which had Scriptural readings as their center ⁴¹. The process was so complete for Holy Week that Zerfass could affirm that "Wie man keine Vesper mehr will, ohne Lesungen, so will man keinen abendlichen Lesegottesdienst mehr ohne Vesper..." ⁴².

Despite the many influences it underwent from various sources, both from within Palestine as well as from Constantinople, HS 43 remains faithful to the earlier traditions of the Jerusalem liturgy in that it is conceived for the specific place where it is to be per-

⁴¹ ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, pp. 63-83.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 87.

formed. By the recurring celebrations of the liturgical year the Christian community relives the event which took place in each location. This physical presence of so many shrines of Christian devotion was the principle responsible for the elaboration of the Jerusalem liturgy in its specific shape⁴³.

Due to the varied influences that went into the making of HS 43, it is both a precious witness to the later Jerusalem Cathedral office (unique for the period in which it occurs) and, at the same time, a representative of one of the many versions of the ordo of the Sabba Typicon, especially with regards to its hymnody. For this reason, we propose to study it here only in terms of its structure as representing the culmination of the long history of the evolution of the Jerusalem Cathedral ordo. Our main interest, then, will be in structural elements, those particularly which despite all the influence of the monastic Typicon stand apart from the pure Sabba tradition.

5. Non-Liturgical Documents

Another series of documents which we make some use of include also descriptions of the Easter services at Jerusalem made by pilgrims or other persons. These are not properly speaking liturgical documents. They will be described, for the most part, under the section on the Lucernarium of the Paschal Vigil. Two of them, however, merit a mention at this point, inasmuch as they supply rather detailed information about the services (particularly the Vigil) during the period of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem. HS 43, as we have seen, though written during this same period, nonetheless preserves liturgical items dating back, for the most part, to the first half of the tenth century. These two documents, however, are eye witness accounts of the services during the Latin Kingdom itself.

a. Fulcherius of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Peregrinantium*, C. VIII⁴⁴.

This historical document by Fulcherius of Chartres, chaplain to Baldwin of Flanders, contains a description of the Holy Saturday services in the year 1101 A. D.

⁴³ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, pp. 182-83.

⁴⁴ In *Recueil III*, 385-87 quoted by KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, pp. 4-7. The passage in question is found only in Codex L (Cam-

b. *Žit'e i Khožen'e Danila ruskyya zemli igumena*⁴⁵

This description of a pilgrimage to Jerusalem and other holy places by the Russian higoumen, Daniel, is judged by Venevitinov in his foreword to the text, to have taken place during the years 1106-1108, these dates based on the names of persons and places mentioned in the account⁴⁶.

The Vigil, which is the central point of interest for both of these documents, is, during this period, clearly presided over by the Latin hierarchy. The impression we get from Fulcherius is that of a basically Latin Vigil service (during which the readings are performed both in Latin and in Greek, however). At one point the chant of Kyrie eleison is heard from another part of the church:

Officium quippe sic eis explentibus ante horam paulisper nonam coepit unus de Graecis a parte una monasterii pro more prisco voce altisona Kyrie eleison exclamare⁴⁷.

The account of Daniel, however, makes clear that there were two separate celebrations going on in the church simultaneously:

A la huitième heure du jour, les prêtres orthodoxes, qui se trouvaient au-dessus du Saint Sépulchre avec tout le clergé, les moines et les ermites commencèrent à chanter les vêpres; de leur côté les Latins, dans le grand autel, se mirent à marmotter à leur manière⁴⁸.

bridge University Library 2079 of the 13th century). The editor says, however, that Bongars included it in his edition (J. BONGARS, *Gesta Dei per Francos*, Hanover, 1611, I, 407-409) from a codex of a certain monk Robert, whom he does not identify. The full text that interests us is to be found on pp. 44-45.

⁴⁵ Cf. VENEVITINOV, *Žit'e* pp. 126-41. The present translation is from KHITROVO, *Vie et pèlerinage*, pp. 77-81. We have taken the liberty to correct the translation in two spots. These we have underlined. The text is to be found on pp. 46-49 of this study.

⁴⁶ VENEVITINOV, *Žit'e*, pp. I-V.

⁴⁷ The expression "monasterium" seems to be used in Fulcherius to indicate the Anastasis. Thus "... in monasterio s. Sepulchri similiter Graeci et Syri... non minus idem sepulchrum... circumgirantes..." (KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, p. 4) and "... ut quicumque intra monasterium... inesse possint lumen... expectent." (*loc. cit.*)

⁴⁸ Latin Vespers were celebrated "v velitsem oltari" ("in the great bema," or "at the great altar"). This is probably to be identified with the main altar situated in the apse created during the reconstruction of Modestos. The Orthodox service was celebrated "nad grobom" ("above the tomb"), a reference, no doubt, to the upper galleries (*catechumena*) from which the clergy sometimes assisted at offices. Cf. VINCENT-ABEL, *Jérusalem*, pp. 220-21.

Thus we find that during the period of the Latin Kingdom the Greek celebrations within the Holy Sepulchre were somewhat limited by the presence of the Latins, whose services clearly occupy the place of honor. As a matter of fact, after having lit their candles from the holy fire, the Greeks disperse to their own churches to finish the service:

Puis chacun rentre chez soi et allume avec (ces cièrges) les lampes des églises et l'on y achève les vèpres; tandis que ce ne sont que les prêtres seuls, sans assistance, qui terminent les vèpres dans la grande église du Saint Sépulchre.

CHAPTER TWO

THE PASCHAL VIGIL

1. Time of Celebration

Both ARM and GEORG agree in situating the beginning of the Vigil in the evening hours. The Sabba practice of gathering from the sixth hour is probably a sort of monastic extension of the service back into the afternoon. As we shall see, the cursus of monastic psalmody has been incorporated into the Cathedral type Vigil. Renoux affirms that all the great Vigils described in ARM are said to begin in the evening hours, and, he believes, begin with a kind of evening prayer or Vesper service⁴⁹. The Vigil of Good Friday night, described by Egeria, he points out, also begins in the evening hours⁵⁰. While Egeria limits her description of the first part of the Paschal Vigil to the remark, "Vigiliae paschales sic fiunt quemadmodum et nos", she nonetheless indicates that the service began in the evening: "...ad nonam autem iam non fit sabbato, sed parantur vigiliae paschales in ecclesia maiore, id est in Martyrium". (XXXVIII, 1).

During the course of the Vigil, we learn from ARM that it is "au milieu de la nuit" that the bishop enters the martyrion with the newly baptized, where the people are keeping Vigil. (44) The total length of the Vigil was certainly greater than less solemn ones, especially in view of the conferring of baptism. Egeria says that the second Liturgy in the Anastasis "...fit ad momentum propter populum, ne diutius tardetur, et sic iam demittetur populus". (XXXVIII, 2).

As to the exact time of the dismissal, once again she refers the reader to Western practice: "Ea autem hora fit missa vigiliarum ipsa die, qua hora et apud nos". (loc. cit.) HS 43 affirms that the service began at the ninth hour. No further mention of time is made throughout the course of the Vigil and its Liturgy.

⁴⁹ RENOUX, *Liturgie*, p. 177.

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 178.

At the end, the doors of the church are locked and remain so until the entrance of the patriarch for Orthros.

2. Place of Celebration

The Vigil in Egeria and ARM

Both Egeria and ARM describe a Vigil service whose two poles are the church of the Anastasis and the great Constantinian basilica⁵¹. After a preliminary gathering in the Anastasis (not mentioned in Egeria, who begins her description with the entrance of the newly-baptized along with the bishop) the assembly goes to the basilica for the Vigil and the Divine Liturgy, which is followed by a second Liturgy in the Anastasis. During the readings of the Vigil the bishop baptizes, although neither document specifies where this takes place. Egeria adds the detail that the bishop and the newly-baptized stop at the Anastasis for prayer on their way back to the basilica after the baptism.

The Lucernarium in Egeria and ARM

Before discussing the later documents, we must consider in greater detail the witness of Egeria and ARM concerning the opening rites. While Egeria does not speak explicitly of the Lucernarium on Holy Saturday, her remark that the Paschal Vigil was celebrated "quemadmodum ad nos" suggests that in Jerusalem, as in all the Western rites of which we have evidence, there were Lucernarium elements present at the beginning of the service. Even apart from her remark on this occasion, the importance of the Lucernarium and the special connection which it had in Jerusalem with the theme of the Resurrection (the taking of the light used in the service from the tomb) lead us to believe that it would hardly have been omitted on Holy Saturday evening⁵². Where, however, did it take place?

We know that the ordinary place of celebration for the Jerusalem Lucernarium was the Anastasis (XXIV, 4). On Wednes-

⁵¹ Egeria's *ecclesia maior* or *martyrium* (XXXVIII, 1), ARM's *martyrion* (44), and GEORG's *catholica* (744) all refer to the same building.

⁵² RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 97, note 39 also suggests that the existence of the Paschal Lucernarium in Jerusalem can be deduced from Jerome's *Letter to Praesidius* (A. D. 384) concerning the Paschal candle. (PL 30, cols. 182-88). This letter is generally considered as authentic since the work of Dom Morin. Cf. RENOUX, *loc. cit.*

days and Fridays throughout the year this involved the inconvenience of the community's having to return all the way from Sion (where the bishop preached on these days in the afternoon) to celebrate the Lucernarium in the Anastasis (XXVII, 6). A similar situation is found during Easter week when those who wished went to the Eleona for an afternoon service, after which they returned once again to the Anastasis for the Lucernarium (XXXIX, 3-4)⁵³. The rule is not an absolute one, however, and we find cases of the celebration of the Lucernarium in other places: at the Eleona, for instance, on Pentecost Sunday after an entire day of lengthy services (XLIII, 6) or in the basilica on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday of Holy Week⁵⁴.

Thus, both of these possibilities lie open as regards the Lucernarium of the Paschal Vigil. Renoux favors the view that it took place along with the Vigil in the martyrion. In support of this he quotes Egeria: "... parantur vigiliae paschales in ecclesia maiore, id est in Martyrium." Secondly, he cites the fact that ARM *J* situates its Lucernarium also in the basilica. ARM *P* and all the later documents which indicate the Anastasis as the place of celebration thus represent a departure from earlier practice⁵⁵. He suggests that the expression "parantur" might even refer to the Lucernarium itself if not to other "preparations" for the Vigil proper. Finally he points out: "Cette cérémonie ne faisait qu'un avec la vigile proprement dite, et comme elle, se déroulait au Martyrium"⁵⁶. The case of the Vigil on Fridays in Lent would seem to support this latter supposition. *De facto*, the community celebrated both Lucernarium and Vigil in the same place, which on this occasion is the Anastasis.

While there is a possibility, then, that the Lucernarium of the Easter Vigil was situated in the basilica, Egeria is not (as she often is with regards to the Lucernarium) explicit on the point. Her failure to mention anything special on this occasion might even be taken as a sign that the Lucernarium would take place as usual in the Anastasis. As regards the case of ARM *J*, clearly enough the lighting of the lamp takes place in the basilica and not the Anastasis. There remains the curious fact that *J* does

⁵³ Cited by JANERAS, *La partie vespérale*, pp. 198-99.

⁵⁴ Cf. note 58. Renoux's affirmation (*Le Codex Arménien*, p. 97) that the Lucernarium took place in the basilica "... durant les jours saints" is inexact. On Palm Sunday, at least, it is certain that it took place in the Anastasis. (XXXI, 4).

⁵⁵ RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 97, note 38.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 97.

have a brief function in the Anastasis before the beginning of the Vigil. The bishop sings Ps 112, for which, however, a refrain is provided, thus suggesting a response on the part of the assistants. In an earlier study, Renoux, refers to this short office as "... un office qui précède la vigile, au cours duquel on psalmodie le psaume 112 qui, dans le lectionnaire géorgien, est le psaume de vêpres, il semble donc que ce pré-office soit l'office du soir" ⁵⁷. In his later work, however, he says:

L'évêque y psalmodie seul, selon les deux manuscrits arméniens, le court psaume CXII, ce qui ne ressemble en rien à la célébration commune et prolongée du lucernaire hiérosolymitain composé d'hymnes, d'antiennes et de prières d'intercession auxquelles l'assemblée prenait part. Le choix de l'antienne de cet unique psaume nous éloigne également du thème du lucernaire: ce n'est pas en effet le verset Ps. CXII,3: "Du lever du soleil jusqu'à son couchant..." que l'on utilise, mais le verset Ps. CXII,2: "Que le nom du Seigneur soit béni dès maintenant et à jamais" ⁵⁸.

The opening office he now considers to be "... un rite d'ouverture de caractère privé" ⁵⁹.

As we have already pointed out, however, the presence of the refrain points to the participation of the assistants. As regard the absence of other items from the ordinary Lucernarium, the same objection might be brought against what he considers to be the Lucernarium, namely the simple lighting of a candle in the basilica. Rather, it is possible that the structure of this latter office was simplified when it was celebrated in connection with a Vigil service, there being no need for the duplication of certain standard items which the two services had in common. The essential elements would be the evening psalm and the lighting of the lamp. As for Ps 112, while it is not usually cited as pertaining to the evening office, verse one appears in the famous evening hymn of the Apostolic Constitutions VII, 48, 1 ⁶⁰. Thus, it is not impossible that in *J* the Lucernarium was divided for celebration in two different places.

⁵⁷ RENOUX, *Liturgie*, p. 177. It is hard to see how Renoux can single out this one psalm among the many others found in GEORG's processions as "le psaume de vêpres" in GEORG.

⁵⁸ RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien* p. 98.

⁵⁹ *Loc. cit.*

⁶⁰ Cf. *Didascalia I*, p. 456, cited by DÖLGER, *Lumen Christi*, pp. 21-24. Dölger supposes (p. 21) that, although only the first verse is given, the whole psalm was meant to be sung. BLUDAU, *Die Pilgerreise*, p. 56 (cited by ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, p. 12, note 34) refers to a "canon psal-

While there are in Egeria reasons in favor of both Anastasis and basilica as the place of celebration of the Lucernarium, we believe that the stronger ones lie on the side of the Anastasis. As we shall see shortly, the important connection between the tomb and the light used for the Easter Lucernarium, which was to have its full flowering in HS 43, is already present in germ in the daily Lucernarium described by Egeria (XXIV, 4) and seems to stem precisely from this early tradition. This connection being emphasized by the daily celebration of the Lucernarium in the Anastasis, it is hard to see how it would be different in the case of the Easter Vigil. As far as the expression "... parantur vigiliae paschales in ecclesia maiore", we are not forced to see in this anything more than an affirmation that the Vigil proper was celebrated there. There is no reason to believe that the Lucernarium was inseparable from a service celebrated in connection with it. We have already seen the cases where the community returns from other liturgical celebrations in various churches to celebrate the Lucernarium in the Anastasis. In line with this view, then, the celebration of the Lucernarium in the basilica, as found in Arm *J* and *Er*, seems to be a deviation from earlier and later Jerusalem practice. It would be better to speak of a division of the Lucernarium into two parts by the transference of the lighting of the lamp to the basilica.

The Vigil in GEORG

The case of the Georgian Lectionary is more complex. In the title of the entry for Holy Saturday Vespers, there is no mention of where the synaxis takes place, as is often the case in the Lectionary. Reference to the place of celebration occurs only in the opening sentence. The impression one gets is that the entire service including the Liturgy takes place in the same church. *P* and *K* speak of the gathering as taking place in the Anastasis ⁶¹, while *S* and *L* refer simply to "the church". Nonetheless each seems to situate the entire service in the same place. As is usual,

morum" attributed to Eusebius of Caesarea in PG 23, 1395 in which "... sind für das Abendgebet verzeichnet die Pss 129, 140, und 12 oder 112. The text in Migne, however, does not refer to Ps 112. The three evening psalms indicated in the document are 129, 140, and 12 without further comment.

⁶¹ TARCHNISCHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire*, p. 107, critical apparatus, misrepresents Kekelidze's reading of *Ka*, which here speaks not of "sanctam ecclesiam" but rather of the Anastasis; cf. KEKELIDZE, *Ierusalimskij Kanonar*, p. 38.

P remains faithful to the original Jerusalem topography, while *L* being destined for use in Armenia, replaces "Anastasis" by "the church" ⁶².

All four refer to a gathering: "*congregantur*". Only *K* and *L*, however, provide a subject for this verb (*K*: *episcopus, sacerdotes, et diaconi*; *L*: *episcopus vel sacerdos et diaconi*). All four agree, further, in saying that the doors were then guarded (*muniant portas*) ⁶³. Thus in the latter two cases the gathering is of an exclusively clerical character. *L* even specifies: *alius populus foris stat*. *P* and *S*, on the other hand, have nothing to say about the purely clerical character of the gathering (absence of subject for the verb *congregantur*), and in fact *S* specifies that in the three processions (which now occur in all four sources) the people follow the deacons. The kiss of peace is followed by the blessing of the candle in *P*, *K*, and *L*. These sources present the kiss of peace as having an exclusively clerical character. *S* which has the blessing of the candle before the kiss witnesses to the participation of the people in the ceremony: *osculantur se invicem sacerdotes diaconi et omnis populus*. All four then say that the doors are opened (*aperiunt portas*). This latter remark seems to refer to the doors which at the outset were guarded. Ps 140 follows, there being no specific reference to an entrance once the doors are opened. It is clear, moreover, that the processions take place within the church, as there is a return to the altar after each one. The only other reference to place is the mention of the entrance of the clergy from the "*sicriton*" after the *Phos hilaron*, and this only in *P* and *S*. There is no reference to the bishop leaving the church for the baptisms which take place during the readings. *K* even adds that the catechumens are led into "the church".

Of these texts, *S* and *L* present the clearest picture. In the first case, the people are present from the beginning participating both in the processions as well as in the kiss of peace, whereas in the second case, they are said to remain without, presumably entering only when the doors are opened (although this is not made explicit.)

⁶² This is further brought out by the expression of *L*: "... intrans in ecclesiam episcopus vel sacerdos et diaconus." Not only is the expression "ecclesia" vague, but the possibility of the ceremony being conducted by a priest and deacon is taken into consideration.

⁶³ CAPELLE, *La Procession*, p. 107 assumed without any concrete evidence that the gathering of the clergy behind closed doors in the Anastasis was already practised at the time of ARM.

The picture we get of a service which takes place exclusively in one church certainly stands in opposition to the earlier witness of Egeria and ARM on the one hand, and to the later HS 43, on the other.

The Vigil in GEORG SABBA

GEORG SABBA seems to show some influence of the topology of the Jerusalem practice to the extent that it, too, mentions a procession around its three churches before the Vigil and also provides for a multiple celebration of the Liturgy: "... et in 3 quippe ecclesiis missae sacrificium perficiunt," adding however "... vos autem sicut vultis facite ..." (721).

The Vigil in HS 43

HS 43 has preserved the true Jerusalem usage of situating the Vigil both in the Anastasis and the basilica. There is this difference, however, that the community does not go to the basilica until after the OT readings and the lighting of the lamps (which this document transposes from the beginning of the service to this position). There the service is completed and only then does the patriarch go to baptize. When he returns, the Liturgy is celebrated in the basilica. Here, too, we find a second Liturgy in the Anastasis as in the earlier Jerusalem documents.

The Witness of Daniel

A later account of the Vigil in the *Life and Pilgrimage of Daniel the Higuimen* ⁶⁴ describes a gathering of the clergy in the Anastasis behind closed doors before the beginning of the Vigil. It does not describe, however, just what takes place. As the period in question is that of the Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem, the liturgy of the Anastasis is primarily Latin in character. Nonetheless, the continued existence of the ceremony of the Holy Fire points to the fact that earlier traditions were to some extent maintained. When the king arrives the doors are opened and the people rush in. The service is then begun by each of the two groups, the Catholic and the Orthodox. Here, as in HS 43 the readings are performed in the Anastasis. After the appearance of the fire ⁶⁵, however, it is no longer to the basilica which the assembly goes for the end

⁶⁴ VENEVITINOV, *Zid'e*, pp. 130-32.

⁶⁵ Cf. pp. 43-45.

of the Vigil. Rather, each group disperses to their own "church" for the completion of the services. Daniel and the monks of Sabba go to their metochion for this purpose.

It would seem that here we have a continuation of the practice of HS 43 which transfers the readings from the basilica to the Anastasis. Its mention, however, of the gathering of the clergy behind closed doors and the subsequent opening of the doors for the people to enter the Anastasis itself seems to be related to what we have just seen in GEORG and leads us to suspect that by the time of GEORG this transference had already taken place⁶⁶. What is less clear, however, is the fact that GEORG has nothing to say about a subsequent change of place such as we find both in HS 43 and Daniel. It must be remembered especially in the case of *L* that adaptation to local conditions in Armenia would very naturally call for the simplification of the celebration in two different churches⁶⁷.

Conclusion

Thus we find that the true traditional practice of Jerusalem provided for the use of both Anastasis and basilica in the course of the Paschal Vigil. GEORG's arrangement of the service for

⁶⁶ While there is no longer question of an explicit clerical gathering behind closed doors in HS 43, it is to be noted that the first part of Vespers is celebrated "... quietly behind the taphos." The people are not referred to as excluded from this gathering, but it is simply said that the patriarch and clergy come down into the Anastasis to celebrate it. These elements might very well point to the clerical gathering alluded to by GEORG, now incorporated into the new "Vesper-shape" of the Vigil.

⁶⁷ In the light of this discussion, we are not able to accept the overly-simplified statement of Renoux (*Le Codex Arménien*, p. 98):

"Alors que, selon l'*Itinerarium Egeriae*, la vigile paschale se tient au Martyrium, quelques siècles plus tard, selon le Lectionnaire géorgien et la description du moine Bernard, c'est à l'Anastasis qu'elle se déroule entièrement."

First of all, we have seen that in the case of Egeria, leaving aside the question of the Lucernarium, the bishop and newly-baptized pause in the Anastasis for prayer on their way to the basilica and, further, the second Vigil Liturgy is celebrated in this church. As regards GEORG, only *P* and *K* set the Vigil in the Anastasis; the others seem to adapt to circumstances in Georgia. But even in the case *P* and *K*, these stand outside the tradition represented by earlier and later Jerusalem documents of using both Anastasis and basilica for the celebration. Finally, from the brief "pilgrim account" of Bernard, who speaks only of the "miracle" of the holy fire, we cannot conclude that the entire Vigil took place in the Anastasis.

one church probably represents a form of the office adapted for use in the homeland.

As regards the *Lucernarium*, it seems more probable that it took place traditionally in the Anastasis, although we have no explicit affirmation in Egeria, and ARM *J* and *Er* seem to divide this service into two sections, one of which is performed in the Anastasis, the other in the basilica.

The *Vigil proper* along with its main Liturgy according to the more ancient usage was celebrated in the basilica. Later practice, however, as represented by HS 43, transfers the beginning of the Vigil to the Anastasis.

The *second Liturgy* of the Vigil (when it occurs) takes place in the Anastasis.

3. Lucernarium

Egeria

Although the serious reasons which we have considered above lead us to believe that the Lucernarium was celebrated in Jerusalem on Holy Saturday in Egeria's time, she has nothing to say about the manner in which it was performed. Judging from ARM which dates from about fifty years later, the shape of the service must have been considerably simplified in view of its being linked with the Vigil.

Armenian Lectionary

At the beginning of the service in ARM we find a preparatory ceremony, which in *J* presents a somewhat simpler structure than in *P*:

<i>J</i>	<i>P</i>	<i>Er</i>
in Anastasis:	Office of lights in the Holy Anastasis ⁶⁸ :	in Anastasis:
Ps 112	Ps 112	Ps 112
—	three candles are lit	—
up to Martyrion	up to Martyrion	up to Martyrion

⁶⁸ Renoux has recently shown that Conybeare's translation of the Armenian word *éraghuc'in* in *P* as referring to the lighting of a torch before Ps 112, not only disturbs the grammatical construction of the Armenian text and introduces a duplication of this initial light-rite, but also fails to take into consideration other uses made of the word in ARM. Renoux translates the phrase in which it occurs as a heading: "Office des lumières à la Sainte-Anastasis". (Cf. *Le Codex Arménien*, pp. 85-87).

bishop lights one candle —

“L'évêque fait
d'abord le lucernaire.”

In all three documents it is clear that the Vigil is considered to begin after this initial service, because it is said that after having performed the office of lights, the clergy “commencent la Vigile de la sainte Pâques.” (44)

The lucernary character of the preparation is clear from the lighting of the lamps. Two significant items are different in *J*, *Er*, and *P*. First of all, in the case of the first two codices, after a brief gathering in the Anastasis where the bishop chants Ps 112, the lighting of candles takes place in the martyrium, whereas in *P* this is done in the Anastasis itself. Secondly, in *J* only a single lamp is explicitly referred to as being lit, whereas *P* calls for three. *Er* does not enter into the question of how many are lit. In line with his thesis that *P* represents a later version of the Jerusalem rite than *J*, Renoux sees in this an evolution from the one document to the other. In Egeria, judging from her account of the daily Lucernarium (XXIV, 4), the many lamps of the Anastasis were lit from the single lamp inside the taphos. Renoux presents other early texts which likewise refer to a single lamp being lit at the Lucernarium⁶⁹. Thus, according to him, *P* with its three candles represents a later stage of development. In this respect, it was to have an important influence on the ulterior development of the strictly Armenian tradition⁷⁰. The earlier tradition of the single lamp, he feels, was continued by GEORG and HS 43, as well as by Vat Syr 21 (inasmuch as this latter shows Jerusalem influence). Renoux even finds echoes of one or the other of these traditions in strictly Byzantine documents, but here the parallelism he suggests is tenuous indeed⁷¹.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 91-92.

⁷⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 94.

⁷¹ “Typicon du monastère de Stoudios, Typicon d'Athanasie l'Athonite et Typicon de l'Evergetis, héritiers des usages de la laure de Saint-Sabas et témoins de rites monastiques du IX^e au XII^e siècle ... ne prévoient encore qu'une seule lampe.” The single lamp which we find here is not in the context of the Paschal Vigil at all, but of Orthros! Before the beginning of this latter office, the brethren gather in the narthex, while one of the priests accompanied by other clergy incenses the interior of the church. This priest is preceded by the ecclesiarch with a lamp, as he comes to the narthex to incense the Royal Doors and the brethren: “ἐκκλησιάρχου μετὰ παιδρᾶς τῆς λαμπάδος προπορευομένου ἔμπροσθεν αὐτοῦ”. This simple ceremony of incensation before the beginning of Orthros can hardly be summoned as a witness to some later shape of the early Jerusalem Paschal

Critique of Renoux's Position

We do not believe, however, that Renoux does justice to this ensemble of texts. First of all, in Egeria's account of the daily Lucernarium, the essential fact is that the light is taken from the single lamp which burns constantly in the tomb. This lamp, however, is a permanent feature in the Anastasis. It is not the lamp that is lit in conjunction with the Lucernarium, but rather the source of light for this celebration. In ARM *J*, on the other hand, we are dealing with a single lamp which is *lit*, presumably from the one burning inside the taphos.

As regards GEORG, *P*, *K*, and *S* speak of the “blessing” of a single candle (called “new” by *P* and *S*), but this is followed by the lighting of other candles⁷². *L* simply says, “Benedicunt candelas et candelabra accendunt...” (711-721 in the critical apparatus)⁷³. In *P*, *K*, and *S* there is thus the singling out of one candle which is said to be “blessed”⁷⁴. *L*, however, which also refers to the blessing, no longer singles out one candle in particular.

Vigil Lucernarium. The other Typica are cited for the same passage. Cf. RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 94. Cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. 417, where he lists the various occasions on which the word *manoualia* is used to indicate simply “... les lumières portées devant le célébrant.” Renoux also refers to the Typicon of the Great Church (*loc. cit.*) in this case as related to the tradition of ARM *P*'s three lamps. He notes that during the entrance of the patriarch (after Ps 140), he is accompanied by the Gospel, the priests, the great censer, and three candelabra (*manoualia*). Renoux sees in this item, a peculiarity of the Paschal Vigil in this document, not found in other entrances of the patriarch. However, a similar item is to be found on January 5 (I, 182) where, although the number three is not specified, there is question of several candles. At the entrance during the Liturgy of the Presanctified, where we have a clear lucernary rite, a single candle is carried and that by the deacon. Furthermore, with regard to the Paschal Vigil itself, *Dres*, which treats in greater detail of this “second entrance” of the patriarch, links the *manoualia* which are carried in the procession with the baptisms that have just taken place: “μετὰ τῶν μανουαλίων τῶν φωτισμάτων.” (cf., p. 137).

⁷² Renoux's assertion that only *P* has maintained “... le cadre hiérolomitain de la vigile paschale...” (*Le Codex Arménien*, p. 89), is incorrect, even if we take “cadre” in the sense of clear indication of Jerusalem topography, for as we have seen *K* also, misrepresented by Tarchnischvili, situates the Lucernarium in the Anastasis. Cf. p. 25, note 61.

⁷³ Renoux does not cite this passage, which parallels those of *P*, *K*, and *S*, but refers to the lighting of a single candle which takes place (only in *L*) before the three processions. Perhaps he means to suggest that this was, in the course of time, separated from the lighting of the candles described by the other manuscripts after the procession, but he does not make this explicit.

⁷⁴ This blessing was perhaps similar to the prayer (mentioned in Vat

Finally HS 43, like Egeria, emphasizes the action of taking the light from the tomb and its spreading among the congregation. No special significance is given to the candle with which it is taken. The words of the text are:

"(The patriarch) ... ἀψει ἐκ τοῦ Ἁγίου φωτός καὶ δίδει εἰς τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον καὶ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκων τῷ λαῷ ..." ⁷⁵.

Renoux's translation, "...il allume la sainte lumière et en donne à l'archidiacon ..." does not take into consideration the preposition "ἐκ" which brings out that the lamp is already lit, a situation normal for the ordinary Jerusalem Lucernarium as described by Egeria (XXIV, 4). Further, the expression "τὸ Ἁγιον φῶς" situates us in the current of the later Jerusalem tradition concerning the miraculous origin of this light, which we will study shortly. All of this points to the fact that the two important items are the fire within the tomb and its spreading among the congregation. The candle used "in between", so to speak, is not emphasized at all.

Vat Syr 21 witnesses to a similar state of affairs: from the candle previously lit beneath the altar, the bishop, then the congregation, light their own candles.

Perhaps what is significant in these later Jerusalem texts is the *absence* of any singling out of three candles such as is found in ARM *P*. In the light of this fact we can readily agree with Renoux's conclusion that this rubric of *P* would be "...une correction tardive, apportée au *Lectionnaire arménien* hors de Jérusalem et inspirée d'une conception symbolique différente qui devait marquer toute la tradition arménienne postérieure" ⁷⁶.

Renoux holds that ARM *P* in the first document in which the candles of the assembly are lit, a practice that was continued, as we have seen, by all the later Jerusalem documents. *J*, on the other hand, makes no mention of this but simply passes from the lighting of the lamp to the beginning of the Vigil. Renoux admits that according to Egeria (XXIV, 4) many lamps were lit from the single lamp of the taphos, but he points out that these were stationary lamps and not candles held by clergy and people. The fact of the matter is that *J* does not mention even this, and thus

Syr 21) said before the bishop and others light their candles from the lamp under the altar. One wonders if these prayers weren't connected with the evening thanksgiving for light.

⁷⁵ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 184.

⁷⁶ RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 95. Perhaps the symbolism in question was Trinitarian.

we must affirm that the simplicity of its account (at least on this point) is one of economy of expression and not exclusiveness. For this reason, we do not feel that *J* did not know of the lighting of candles by those assisting at the service simply because it does not explicitly refer to this.

While Renoux's assertion that *P* with its three candles represents a later tradition seems justified, we feel that he attributes too much significance to the fact that in *J* there is only one candle lit. The document itself does not insist on this fact ⁷⁷. It was perhaps simply used to light the candles of the people, as seems to have been the case in the three GEORG manuscripts which also single out *one* candle in connection with the blessing. Renoux's efforts to find similar items in HS 43 and Vat Syr 21 are not convincing.

Georgian Lectionary

Here we find a more complex structure:

gathering in the church
(lighting of a single candle in *L*)
3 processions with at least one psalm and *kverexi et oratio*
kiss of peace
blessing of candle
lighting of other candles
opening of the doors.

After the gathering in the church, the first ceremony singled out by *L* is the lighting of a single candle ⁷⁸. The other codices

⁷⁷ We seem to find some confirmation of this fact in Erévan 985. Instead of indicating how many candles are lit this manuscript simply says: "...on monte au Saint-Martyrium et l'évêque fait d'abord le lucernaire, puis les clercs commencent aussitôt la vigile..." (44) The fact that the number of candles lit is not indicated in this document seems to indicate that this was not of importance. This portion of the text would seem to relate to the earlier period of the Lectionary's history. In view of the fact that this document is posterior to both *J* and *P*, if the text in question stemmed from the period beginning with *P*, one would expect to find the three candles of the later Armenian tradition, which turn up for the first time only in *P*. Furthermore, it is related to the practice of *J* in that it, too, situates the Lucernarium in the martyrion.

⁷⁸ This item seems to be a duplication of the blessing and lighting of candles which *L* also has after the processions. Perhaps we have here a trace of the two usages we saw in ARM *J* and *P* of lighting the candles either in the Anastasis or in the basilica. CAPELLE, *La procession*, p. 106 speaks of three candles being lit here. This, however, is a mistranslation

proceed immediately to describe the *three* processions, which constitute the principal evolution of the Lucernarium between the time of ARM and that of GEORG.

After the preparation of three thuribles, the processings begin. Each time, the assistants go around the church (*circumeunt ecclesiam*) and eventually return to the altar step. During each procession a psalm is sung. A refrain is not given for these processional psalms in *P* and *L*; in *K* we find one only for the second procession. *S*, on the other hand, gives a refrain for all three. A second psalm is sometimes sung after the procession has returned to the altar⁷⁹. It is presented in the form of a Prokeimenon. The verse singled out for repetition is given first under the title of *Psalmus, Modus x*. Then there follows a *stichus*.

The psalms used in the first procession are rather consistent in the manuscripts. Ps 64 is used by all save *K* which uses Ps 95. The second psalm is, in each case, Ps 11,6 with Ps 95,1 as *stichus*. *L* has no second psalm in the first procession but uses this same Ps 11,6 (with Ps 95,1 as *stichus*) as the second psalm in its last procession. In the other processions the psalms used by one or other of the manuscripts are: 86, 95, 96, 97, 99, 112, 147, and 149.

The agreement of the manuscripts as to the psalm sung during the first procession seems to point to its greater antiquity. The psalms of these three processions seem to have been chosen either because of their suitability to the theme of the Resurrection (Ps 11,6) or to the place of celebration (Ps 86, Ps 147 with their references to Jerusalem) or simply because of the theme of praise (Ps 95, 96, 97, 99, 149) especially in connection with the salvific deeds of God in history. Ps 112 was very probably preserved from the earlier tradition represented by ARM where, as was said, it seems to have been an evening psalm.

A "*kverexi et oratio*" is said after each of the processions, though its exact place varies according to the manuscripts. *P* has it after the second psalm, *K* before it, whereas *S* has one both before and after. *L* having no second psalm, it simply comes

borrowed from THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices*, p. 120. The original text of all the manuscripts save *L* (including Kekelidze's reading of *Ka*, cf. *Ierusalimskij Kanonar*, p. 88) refers to the preparation of three thuribles. The entire translation of the preparation for the procession presented in *extenso* in Capelle is very faulty, containing, for instance, an omission the *kverexi et oratio*.

⁷⁹ This second psalm is found in *S* after each of the processions, in *P* after the first two, in *K* only after the first, and in *L* only after the last.

after the procession. This *kverexi - oratio* seems to have been a prayer preceded by some sort of diaconal petitions or at least by an invitation to prayer such as: "Let us pray to the Lord". The word, "*kverexi*", is probably derived from "*κῆρυξις*".

After the last procession the clergy exchange the kiss of peace. Then there is a blessing of the candle, which *P* and *S* describe as "*candelam novam*". After this other candles are lit, and according to *S*, distributed to the people. *L*, however, speaks of the blessing of candles in the plural, as was pointed out above. Finally, according to all the manuscripts except *K*, the doors are opened.

Thus in GEORG we find that this opening ceremony has become more complex by the introduction of three processions. The light element of the Lucernarium is still present in the blessing of candles and their distribution to the people, but the evening psalm (presuming that Ps 112 is really to be identified as such in ARM) has been almost forgotten. It is still found in *P* and *S*, but it has been embedded in the psalmody of the three processions.

This lacuna, however, is taken care of by another innovation of GEORG. After the opening of the doors which now takes place, we no longer have the beginning of the Vigil as in ARM *P* but find rather that Ps 140 is sung with the refrain, Is 60,1 (*Illuminare, Jerusalem*)⁸⁰. This is followed by *Phos hilaron* after which the clergy go into the *sicriton*.

At first, one would be tempted to see here the primitive Lucernarium which ARM *J* (according to Renoux) had situated in the basilica before the actual beginning of the service. There is, however, a serious objection against this inasmuch as in GEORG the ceremony performed outside the church (gathering, procession, blessing of candle, distribution of candles) is clearly the heir of the earlier Lucernarium of ARM. The real explanation of this reduplication of the more primitive Lucernarium outside the doors is to be found in the growing tendency in the Jerusalem liturgy to introduce into the Vigil, elements of the ordinary daily Vesper service. This process reaches its culmination in HS 43. In GEORG these new elements, instead of replacing the older ones, are placed alongside them. After the *Phos hilaron*, the clergy enter the *sicriton* and their subsequent entrance from it into the church constitutes the beginning of the Vigil proper. (717-718)

⁸⁰ *L* is explicit in referring to this as a refrain. The other manuscripts simply place it in juxtaposition to the psalm.

In this entire series of rites, there seems to be more involved than a simple Lucernarium in the Anastasis followed by a Vigil in the basilica. The elaboration of GEORG with its three processions, the lighting of the "new candle" presumably from the lamp in the taphos, and the procession to the basilica all seem to point to a symbolic celebration of the risen Christ coming forth from the tomb. It is even possible that the three processions (which precede the blessing of the "new candle") are intended to signify the three days in the tomb, especially in *P* and *S* where there is no mention of the lighting of a candle before the processions⁸¹. All of this is in line with the relationship between *τάφος* and *φῶς* implied in the daily practice described by Egeria (XXIV, 4) of taking the light from the lamps in the "*spelunca*" for use in the Lucernarium.

The Practice of Sabba according to GEORG

It will be remembered that the description in GEORG *S* of the Sabba Vigil (721 *S*) says that the service begins "a sexta hora ad vesperarum orationem." Ps 112 is then sung, thus, unlike GEORG JER, preserving it in its original place. After this we read: "Incipiunt et cum vesperarum canone cum Ps 1, totum orant." This expression "*vesperarum canone*" refers no doubt to the group of psalms used for the *psalmodia currens* at Vespers⁸². The mention of Ps 1 suggests the ordinary Saturday kathisma of Vespers in the later Sabba Typicon. In this document the first kathisma contains the first eight psalms of the psalter. There seems to be some probability that ninth century Sabba practice had kathismata of the same length⁸³. There is some evidence in the present document which seems to point in the same direction. One characteristic of its ordo for the readings at the Paschal Vigil, as we shall see, is that it intercalates a psalm before each of the readings, unlike ARM and GEORG in its description of the Jerusalem liturgy. These psalms, moreover, are sung in numerical order beginning with Ps 9. This is a clear indication that they are not chosen because they are appropriate to the readings; it

⁸¹ Cf. THIBAUT, *Ordre des offices*, p. 124. Structurally speaking, the inspiration might have come from the Sunday Cathedral Vigil with its three responsorial psalms.

⁸² Cf. LONGO, *Narrazione*, p. 232 who cites texts of Palestinian origin witnessing to the use of the word "kanon" in reference to the monastic *psalmodia currens*.

⁸³ MATEOS, *Horologion*, pp. 59-60.

is rather a typical example of monastic psalmody. Thus there is some indication here that the reading of the psalter, which began with Ps 1, stopped at Ps 8, to be taken up again with Ps 9 before the first reading. Unfortunately, the document tells us no more about this preliminary celebration. In any case, this early Sabba ordo seems to have called for the monastic *psalmodia currens* at the Vigil, a point which was lost by the time of the Studite and later Sabba Typica.

HS 43

In the documents considered thus far in connection with the Paschal Vigil, it has been easy to distinguish between a preliminary Lucernarium and a subsequent Vigil service which is concluded with a Eucharistic celebration. As we have seen, in ARM the beginning of the Vigil proper is explicitly referred to. This is not the case in HS 43, which we must consider now. As we pointed out in the introduction, this document represents an attempt to incorporate these two ancient elements (Lucernarium-Vigil proper) into the structure of an ordinary Saturday evening Vesper service.

The Practice of GEORG in Comparison with That of HS 43

One of the most significant developments in the Jerusalem liturgy as presented by this manuscript is the fact that the process of growth in importance of the Lucernarium which we have already seen in GEORG here reaches its culmination, at least on the liturgical plane.

The first thing that we notice is the fact that the lighting of the candles which we found at the beginning of the service (before the entrance into the basilica for the beginning of the Vigil proper), has now been placed after the OT readings. That we are dealing with the same rite seems clear from the close parallelism of GEORG with HS 43.

GEORG L
(pars. 708-716)

Ab hora decima pulsant ad officium et intrat in ecclesiam episcopus vel sacerdos et diaconus. Alius populus foris stat et portas muniunt, candelam accendunt, faciunt kverexi et orationem. Et sumit episcopus turibulum et omnes sacerdotes et diaconi habent turibulum et dicunt psalmum hunc: Te decet hymnus. (Ps 64,2) (Three processions follow, during each of which:) circumeunt ecclesiam et veniunt ante gradum altaris.

Et omnes ministri ecclesiae osculantur se invicem.

Benedicunt candelas et candelabra accendunt, (S: benedicunt novam candelam et distribuunt populo.)

Portas aperiunt et incipiunt cantare: Domine clamavi...

HS 43
(pp. 183-184)

εἰσέλθῃ ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ "Ἅγιον Βῆμα

καὶ ῥογεύει τὸ θυμίαμα τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρε(σβυτέρων) καὶ ἄρξουνται θυμιάσειν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἄρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ θυμιάσου(ν) τὸν ναὸν ἐξωθεν τοῦ "Ἁγίου Τάφου καὶ κυκλόνουν αὐτὸν γ' φοράς" καὶ αὐτὸς κεκλεισμένος.

ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ναὸς τρεῖς φοράς.
(There follows the incensation of Golgotha, the basilica and several other of the shrines.)

(After returning to the Βῆμα:)
ἄρξε(ται) ὁ πατριάρχης τὸ "Κύριε ἐλέησον" ἐκτενῶς καὶ ἀκαταπαύστως· καὶ τότε ἐξέλθ(ῃ) ὁ πατριάρχης ἐκ τοῦ Βήματος... καὶ τότε πίπτει ὁ πατριάρχης ἐμπροσθεν τοῦ "Ἁγίου Βήματος ἐπὶ πρόσωπον, εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος, καὶ δεηθῇ μετὰ δακρύων ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων· καὶ ἐκτείνει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος. Ποιεῖται οὕτως τρίς, καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ὁμοίως· καὶ ὁ λαὸς τὸ "Κύριε ἐλέησον" μὲ φωνὰς ἀδιαλείπτως. Καὶ τότε ἐν τῷ εἰσελθεῖν ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ "Ἅγιον Τάφον καὶ οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ, πίπτει ἐπὶ πρόσωπον τρίς καὶ δεηθ(ῇ) καὶ παρακαλεῖ περὶ ἑαυτοῦ τε καὶ τοῦ λαοῦ.

καὶ τότε ἄψι ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου φῶς καὶ δίδει εἰς τ(ὸν) ἀρχιδ(ιάκονον), καὶ ὁ ἀρχιδιάκω(ν) τῷ λαῷ· καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εὐγένηι⁸⁴ ὁ πατριάρχης καὶ οἱ σὺν αὐτῷ ψάλλοντ(ες) στιχηρὸν ἤχος α'. Εὐθύς λιτῇ εἰς τὸν "Ἅγιον Κωνσταντίνον"⁸⁵.

(texts of stichera with their stichoi follow.)

⁸⁴ εὐγένηι = ἐβγαίνει from βγαίνω (medieval and later Greek for ἐκβαίνω).

⁸⁵ "Ἅγιον Κωνσταντίνον" is HS 43's habitual designation for the basilica.

The most important item which has changed is that Ps 112 along with all the psalmody of the three processions has been lost, although Ps 64 and 147 are used as part of the psalmody for the entrance into the basilica after the reception of the fire. While the details differ in the other Georgian manuscripts, the essential items are present: three processions around the church with incense, lighting and distribution of candles, entrance into the basilica. The chant of Kyrie and the prayer of the patriarch accompanied by prostrations might well be the outgrowth of the "*Kverexi et oratio cum genuflexione*" of one or other of GEORG's processions.

The close parallelism here seems clearly to indicate that we are dealing with the same ceremony, although it has been transferred to after the OT readings in HS 43. We find a further confirmation of this if we turn to the beginning of Vespers in HS 43, the point where ARM and GEORG situated their Lucernarium. Here it is said that the clergy descend for Vespers "ἀνευ φωτασίου καὶ θυμια(τοῦ)". Thus the ceremony of light having been transposed to after the readings, Vespers is begun without the lighting of the lamps, thus respecting the fact that the Lucernarium has not yet taken place.

More important is the new emphasis given to the light itself. It is no longer a question of a simple Lucernarium preceding a Vigil service. The very name used for the light is indicative of the new trend: "τὸ Ἅγιον φῶς"⁸⁶. It has thus become the holy light, which has an interest in itself. It is carried in procession to the basilica as Pss 64, 147 and 150 are chanted with two refrains inspired by Is 60⁸⁷.

Further, the whole character of the ceremony of the lighting of the lamp is one of extreme solemnity: triple incensation of the tomb, the entire church, and of the other holy places in the vic-

⁸⁶ It will be noticed that the expression, "τὸ Ἅγιον φῶς", is not in the genitive case, as we would expect after the preposition "ἐκ". Apart from the possibility of a simple error on the part of the scribe, we are probably dealing with a sort of hieratic use of not declining certain sacred expressions but rather permitting them to remain the same in all grammatical situations in which they occur. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in the usage we find in the Apocalypse of not declining the expression, "Ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος". Cf. for instance Apoc 1,4: "Χάρις ὡμῶν καὶ εἰρήνη ἀπὸ ὁ ὢν καὶ ὁ ἦν καὶ ὁ ἐρχόμενος".

⁸⁷ The first of these is the Heirmos of the ninth Ode of the Easter Canon. It is perhaps significant that two of these psalms (64 and 147) figure in the three initial processions of GEORG L. Also noteworthy is the fact that the refrain of Ps 140 (which in GEORG immediately follows the entrance into the basilica) is Is 60,1, on which the refrain for HS 43's procession is based.

nity; "Κύριε ἐλέησον ἐκτενώς καὶ ἀκαταπαύστως"; solemn entry of the patriarch into the tomb accompanied by the clergy; the triple prostrations "ἐπὶ πρόσωπον εἰς τὸ ἔδαφος", and this three times before the Βῆμα and again within the tomb. The terms used are often stronger than the ordinary language of ritual: "ἐκτενώς καὶ ἀκαταπαύστως"; "δεηθῇ μετὰ δακρύων"; "Κύριε ἐλέησον μὲ φωνὰς ἀδιαλείπτως." Also noteworthy is the penitential note found in the fact that the patriarch prays for his own sins and those of the people.

Other Documents Corroborating the Witness of HS 43

We are fortunate in having what we believe to be other descriptions of this ceremony in several documents of the tenth to the twelfth centuries and, even later, in the form of the accounts of various visitors to Jerusalem⁸⁸. These are not, of course, *ex professo* liturgical documents. The accounts they give are set in the context of descriptions of visits made to the Holy Places. Moreover, their attention is directed largely to what they believed to be the miraculous lighting of the candles and lamps during the service. We present these texts in chronological order before commenting on their content.

Bernhardus Monachus, *Itinerarium*⁸⁹.

This document describes a pilgrimage made to the Holy Land and is judged by Tobler and Molinier to date from around 870 AD.

... sabbato sancto, quod est vigilia Paschae, mane officium incipitur in hac ecclesia (the reference is to the Anastasis) et post peractum officium Kyrie eleison canitur, donec, veniente angelo, lumen in lampadibus accendatur, quae pendent super predictum sepulchrum, de quo dat patriarcha episcopis et reliquo populo, ut illuminet sibi unusquisque in suis locis.

Arethas, Metropolitan of Caesarea in Cappadocia, *Letter to the Emir of Damascus*⁹⁰.

⁸⁸ These have been studied in their ensemble by KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, especially pp. 24-42, and Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his Foreword to *Historia Niketa*, pp. I-XII.

⁸⁹ Cf. BERNARDUS MONACHUS, *Itinerarium*, p. 315.

⁹⁰ Quoted by Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his Foreword to *Historia*

Papadopoulos-Kerameus places this text at the beginning of the tenth century.

... μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ὁ ἅγιος καὶ τίμιος αὐτοῦ τάφος καθ' ἑκάστον ἔτος τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῆς αὐτοῦ ἀναστάσεως θαυματουργεῖ ... (All lights in Jerusalem are extinguished) ... σκευάζεται ὑπὸ τῶν χριστιανῶν κανδήλα μετὰ ἀκτρίου καὶ τουρίου⁹¹ καὶ ἱσταμένου τοῦ μὲν κατὰ τὴν Ἱερουσαλὴμ ἀμνηρᾶ ἐγγὺς τοῦ ἁγίου τάφου, ἐσφαγισμένης τῆς θύρας ὑπὸ τοῦ αὐτοῦ ἀμνηρᾶ, τῶν δὲ χριστιανῶν ἱσταμένων ἔξω εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς ἁγίας Ἀναστάσεως καὶ κραζόντων τὸ Κύριε ἐλέησον, ἐξαίφνης ἀστραπῆς γινομένης ἀνάπτει ἡ κανδήλα φῶς, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ τοῦ φωτός πάλιν πάντες οἱ κατοικοῦντες (ἐν) Ἱερουσαλὴμ λαμβάνουσι καὶ ἄπτουσι πῦρ.

*Ma'sûdi*⁹².

This is an account of a visit to Jerusalem in 926 A. D. by a Moslem.

The Christians assemble for this festival from out all lands. For on it the fire from heaven doth descend among them, and they kindle therefrom the candles ... The Christians hold many legends there anent; but the fire is produced by a clever artifice, which is kept a great secret.

*Narration of Niketas of the Imperial Clergy*⁹³.

First published in 1787 by Chrysanthos Brouskos⁹⁴ it was in this edition that the document was studied by Count Riant⁹⁵ who judged the work to be a probable forgery of a much later period. Papadopoulos-Kerameus, however, in the foreword to his edition has pointed out the faultiness of Chrysanthos' edition, and showing that there is no intrinsic inconsistency in the historical references of the text, he affirms that it truly is, as it claims to be, a document of the mid-tenth century⁹⁶. It is a letter sent by

Niketa, p. II. He copied it from Codex Moscow Synodal Library Mattei 303, ff. 98v-99r.

⁹¹ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS (*Historia Niketa*, p. II) calls this expression unintelligible.

⁹² Quoted by KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, p. 25 without a title from a translation from GUY LE STRANGE, *Palestine under the Moslems*, London, 1890, p. 203.

⁹³ Cf. *Historia Niketa*, p. 4.

⁹⁴ Χρυσάνθος Μπροῦσκος (?), Προσκυνητάριον τῆς ἁγίας πόλεως Ἱερουσαλὴμ καὶ πάσης Παλαιστίνης, Vienna, 1787, pp. 47-51.

⁹⁵ In *Archives de l'Orient Latin* I (1881), 375-89. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Historia Niketa*, p. VIII and KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, p. 32, who mention this article, do not give its precise title.

⁹⁶ *Historia Niketa*, pp. X-XI.

Niketas, a cleric attached to the imperial court, to Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, describing the miracle of the holy fire on Holy Saturday, 947 A.D. during the patriarchate of Christodoulos (935-949).

Ὁ δὲ πάνσοφος ἀρχιεπίσκοπος ... σὺν τοῖς βεβήλοις Ἀγαρηνοῖς⁹⁷ τὸν Θεῖον Τάφον ἡσφαλίσατο κατὰ ἀνατολὰς τῆ ὑψοῦ τὰς μωσαϊκὰς χεῖρας ἄρας σὺν τῷ χριστωνύμῳ λαῷ ἐκτενῶς καθικετεύων ἦν τὸν τῶν ὁλῶν Θεόν. Περὶ δὲ ὥραν ἑκτὴν τῆς ἡμέρας τῷ Θεῷ Τάφῳ τοῦ Σωτήρος ἐνατενίσας ὁρᾷ τὴν θείαν φωτοφάνειαν δι' ἀγγέλου γὰρ αὐτῷ πρόσσεστιν ἡ τῆς θύρας εἰσόδος. Καίρῳ οὖν λαβῶν πρὸς τὸ ἀπ' ἐκείνου τοῦ φωτὸς μεταδοῦναι τοῖς ἐν τῇ ἀγίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ μεγάλῃ ἐκκλησίᾳ πολυφωτίαις, καθὼς τοῦτο ποιεῖν εἰώθει.

Radulfus Glaber, *Historiarum Libri*, IV, c. VI⁹⁸.

Klameth judges the text to date from about 1048 A.D. on account of the mention of the miracle being seen by "Odalricus Aurelianorum praesul." It purports to be an account of the miracle as seen by Odalricus⁹⁹.

Die igitur magni illius Sabbati, quo ignis mirabili Dei potentia veniens ab universo populo praestabitur ... Iamque dies ipsa in vespertum transiens repente penes horam, qua sperabatur ignis affuturus, unus Saracenorum scurra impudentissimus; ... exclamabit, ut Christianis mos est, cum primum videtur: Agios, Kyrie eleison, cavillanter cachinum emisit extensaue manu arripuit caereum de manu cuiusdam Christiani aufugere tentans ...

Fulcherius of Chartres, *Gesta Francorum Hierusalem Peregrinantium*, c. VIII¹⁰⁰.

... in vigilia Paschae ... horam circiter tertiam iussu est a patriarcha officium diurnum a canonicis incipi. Tunc lectiones lectae sunt alternatim; prius Latinus latine, posterius vero Graecus graece identidem, quod Latinus legerat, in pulpito relegit. Officium quippe sic eis explentibus ante horam paulisper nonam coepit unus de Graecis a parte una monasterii pro more prisco voce altisona Kyrie eleyson exclamare, cui statim cuncti, qui aderant modo simili eundem cantum responderunt ... (This was repeated three times) ... siluerunt et continuo canonici officium suum iam inceptum decantaverunt. Interim devoti expecta-

⁹⁷ Ἀγαρηνός = Saracen.

⁹⁸ Cf. RADULFUS GLABER, *Historiarum libri* cited by KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, p. 26.

⁹⁹ KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, p. 28, note 2: "Nach Tobler, *Golgotha*, 463 i. j. 1033, nach anderen 1048 u. a."

¹⁰⁰ Cf. above p. 18.

bamus ignem sanctum, qui horam circiter nonam advenire ritu solebat. (Shortly after, Kyrie eleyson is repeated as before.) ... et quum ignem optatum plerique tunc venisse sperabamus, quum non venisset, silentio requievimus; clerici autem lectiones et tractus diurnos cecinerunt. Quum vero hora nona iam transisset, vice trina voce sublimi Kyrie eleyson repetitum est; tunc patriarcha noster sumptis claviculis reseravit ostiolum dominici Sepulchri et introgressus, quum lumen, quod desiderabamus, non invenerit, mox ante ipsum sanctum Sepulchrum supplex ad orandum flendo se prostravit, poscens Dei misericordiam. (Fulcherius and a chaplain of the patriarch go to calvary to see if the fire might have come there, but they do not find it. The Kyrie eleyson is repeated again.) ... Jam advesperascebat jam dies inclinabat, et quum speraremus, quod propter peccata nostra hoc contingeret ... meditatus est unusquisque in corde suo emendare quod contra Deum deliquerat. Quapropter quidam discordes qui monasterio inerant, patriarcha reconciliante, concordantes facti sunt. Oportebat enim ut pax, qua sine Deo nihil placet, nobiscum esset, ut et nobis pacatis, et pro amore ejus emendatis, libentius supplicationi nostrae intenderet. Accepto igitur consilio iam imminente nocte praecepit omnibus patriarcha, ut de monasterio exeuntes ad domos vel hospitia sua abirent ... Ecclesia nocte illa vacua remansit, in qua nec lampas nec candela lumine accenso splenduerunt. Mane autem, cum dies Paschae clarescere coepisset ... (they go to the sepulchre but still find no light there. There is a procession of the Latins to the basilica to pray for the coming of the fire. Meanwhile ...) ... in monasterio s. Sepulchri similiter Graeci et Syri, qui ibi remanserant, non minus idem sepulchrum cum processione sua circumgirantes orationi vacabant ... (When the Latins return they find one light burning before the tomb.)

*Žit'e i Khožen'e Danila ruskyja zemli igumena, Description of Holy Saturday and Easter*¹⁰¹.

Le lendemain, à la sixième heure du jour du samedi saint, tout le peuple s'assemble devant l'église de la sainte Résurrection ... avec des cierges non allumés à la main, et attend que l'on ouvre les portes de l'église. Les prêtres seuls se trouvent à l'intérieur, et tous, prêtres et foule, attendent l'arrivée du prince et de la suite; et alors, les portes de l'église étant ouvertes, la foule s'y précipite ... Tout ce peuple, dans l'église et dehors, ne crie autre chose, tout le temps que: "Dieu, aie pitié de nous." et ce cri est si fort que toute l'enceinte en retentit et en bourdonne. Les fidèles versent des torrents de larmes; même celui qui a un cœur de pierre ne peut ne pas pleurer; chacun, en scrutant

¹⁰¹ Cf. above p. 19.

le fond de son âme, se souvient alors de ses péchés et se dit : " Mes péchés empêcheraient-ils la sainte lumière de descendre ? " (The higumen of Sabba along with Daniel and the other monks go to meet Baldwin and with him set out for the church). Nous atteignîmes ainsi la porte occidentale de l'église de la Résurrection ; mais une foule si compacte en obstruait l'entrée que nous ne pûmes y pénétrer ; alors le prince Baudouin commande à ses soldats de disperser la foule et de nous ouvrir un passage, ce qu'ils firent en frayant comme une ruelle jusqu'au Tombeau, et nous pûmes traverser ainsi la foule. Nous arrivâmes à la porte orientale du Saint Sépulchre du Seigneur ; et le prince vint après nous ... Le prince commanda à l'hégoumène de Saint Sabbas de se placer, avec ses moines et les prêtres orthodoxes, au-dessus du Tombeau ; quant à moi, infirme, il m'ordonna de me mettre plus haut, au-dessus des portes du Saint Sépulchre, en face du grand autel, de sorte que je pouvais voir à travers les portes du Tombeau ; ces portes, au nombre de trois, étaient scellées du sceau royal. Quant aux prêtres latins, ils se tenaient dans le grand autel. A la huitième heure du jour, les prêtres orthodoxes, qui se trouvaient au-dessus du Saint Sépulchre, avec tout le clergé, les moines et les ermites commencèrent à chanter les vêpres ; de leur côté, les Latins, dans le grand autel, se mirent à marmotter à leur manière. Pendant que tous chantaient ainsi, moi je me tenais à ma place observant attentivement les portes du Tombeau. Lorsqu'on commença la lecture des parémies du samedi saint, l'évêque, suivi du diacre, sortit du grand autel pendant la première lecture, et, s'approchant des portes du Tombeau, regarda à travers le grillage dans l'intérieur ; mais, n'y voyant pas de lumière, il s'en retourna ; à la sixième lecture des parémies, ce même évêque revint à la porte du Saint Sépulchre, et n'y vit rien de nouveau. Alors tout le peuple s'écria avec des larmes : " Kyrie eleison ! " ce qui veut dire : " Seigneur, aie pitié de nous ! " A la fin de la neuvième heure, quand on commença à chanter le cantique du passage (de la Mer Rouge) " Cantabo Domino ", un petit nuage, venant de l'orient, s'arrêta soudain au-dessous de la coupole découverte de l'église, et une petite pluie tomba sur le Saint Sépulchre, et nous trempa ainsi que tous ceux qui se tenaient au-dessus du Tombeau ; ce fut alors que la sainte lumière illumina soudain le Saint Sépulchre, brillant d'un éclat effrayant et splendide. L'évêque, suivi de quatre diacres, ouvrit alors les portes du Tombeau et y entra avec le cierge qu'il prit au prince Baudouin, pour l'allumer le premier à cette sainte lumière ; il vint ensuite le remettre aux mains du prince, qui reprit sa place tout joyeux en tenant le cierge. C'est au cierge du prince que nous allumâmes les nôtres, qui servirent à passer le feu à tout le reste du monde dans l'église... A peine la lumière brilla-t-elle dans le Saint Sépulchre que le

chant cessa, et tous, s'écriant : " Kyrie eleison, " se dirigèrent vers l'église avec grande allégresse, (portant) les cierges allumés à la main et les préservant contre le vent. Puis chacun rentre chez soi et allume avec (ces cierges) les lampes des églises, et l'on y achève les vêpres ; tandis que ce ne sont que les prêtres seuls, sans assistance, qui terminent les vêpres dans la grande église du Saint Sépulchre. Portant les cierges allumés, nous retournâmes à notre couvent avec l'hégoumène et les moines ; nous y achevâmes les vêpres, et nous nous retirâmes dans nos cellules, louant Dieu d'avoir daigné nous faire voir, à nous indignes, sa grâce divine. Le matin du saint dimanche (de Pâques), après avoir chanté les matines, nous être embrassés l'hégoumène, les moines et nous, et après l'apolytis e vers la première heure du jour, nous nous acheminâmes, l'hégoumène, la croix en main, et tous les moines, vers le Saint Sépulchre en chantant le *Kontakion* : " Immortel, Tu as daigné descendre dans la tombe ! " Etant entré dans le Saint (Sépulchre) nous couvrîmes de baisers et de chaudes larmes la Tombe vivifiante du Seigneur ... (There follows a description of the lamps inside the tomb.) Ensuite nous sortîmes du Tombeau par la porte occidentale ; et, étant entrés dans le grand autel et y ayant embrassé les orthodoxes et après l'apolytis, nous sortîmes tous, l'hégoumène et les moines, du temple de la sainte Résurrection, et rentrâmes dans notre couvent pour nous y reposer jusqu'à la messe.

Other witnesses to the existence of the " miracle " are not wanting, but they are not very helpful in reconstructing the rite in question ¹⁰².

¹⁰² Thus KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, p. 32, note 1, mentions GUIBERT, *Gesta Dei per Francos* (cf. *Recueil* IV, 255-56) and the anonymous continuation of TUDEBODUS' *Historia de Hierosolymitano Itinere : Historia Peregrinorum* (cf. *Recueil* III, 214) both of whom describe how individuals tampered with the lamps in the Sepulchre in order to see if the miracle would take place all the same. This latter account of Easter, 1099 likewise mentions the prayer for the fire to appear and the fact that it came at the ninth hour. BALDRICUS in his *Historia Jerosolimitana* (cf. *Recueil* IV, 1-89) reproduces a sermon of Pope Urban at the Concilium Claramontanum Aquensis (1095 A. D.) containing a reference to the fire. Likewise, ALBERTUS AQUENSIS in his *Historia Hierosolimitana*, c. XXXIII (cf. *Recueil* IV, 712) concerning the year 1120 A. D. and the anonymous *Historia Gotfridi* (cf. *Recueil* V, 513). Papadopoulos-Kerameus in his Foreword to *Historia Niketa*, p. III describes a Greek psalter now in Turin (cf. PASINUS, *Codices*, p. 173) which after *Phos hilaron* adds the curious note that this hymn was sung by the patriarch as a hymn of thanks, when the Holy Fire appeared. It adds that the same was the practice in the scribe's time. (1149 A. D.) This is the only source we have found witnessing to such a practice.

The abundance of witnesses which we have here enables us to study the ceremony both before the coming of the Latins as well as afterwards, when the Latin liturgy is incorporated into the services of the holy places. Among the authors are represented Latin, Greeks and Russian Christians, and even a Moslem. Despite the span of time and the diversity of provenance of the writers, the service described (in more or less detail by each of the witnesses) remains basically the same. The more detailed accounts we owe to Fulcherius and Daniel; they are the only ones who clearly situate the occurrence in the context of the Paschal Vigil.

Items Common to All of These Documents

1) The lighting of the lamps is considered to be of miraculous origin, this already from the time of Bernhard¹⁰³. As a consequence, the lighting of the lamps has become the most important part of the service. The reason for the descriptions which these authors have left us lies precisely in the fact that they considered the event to be miraculous. Thus the exact point in the service where the event occurs is very changeable. One thing is very certain, it no longer occurs at the beginning, as was the case with the Lucernarium of the earlier Jerusalem Vigil. Bernhard situates it "*post peractum officium*". Fulcherius describes how, to the disappointment of all, the fire does not come at all during the course of the Vigil despite the repeated chant of Kyrie eleison, but only the following morning. He does seem to indicate, however, that the chant of Kyrie eleison by the Greeks began only after the readings (which tallies with the description of HS 43). The description of Daniel also betrays the uncertainty as to what time the fire would come. The bishop begins to look into the sealed tomb at the first reading, then again at the sixth. It is finally only at the singing of the Exodus canticle (Ex 15, 1-18) that the fire appears.

2) Most of the important witnesses, including the earliest, Bernhard, refer also to the chant of Kyrie eleison. These include Bernhard, Arethas, Radulfus Glaber, Fulcherius, and Daniel. The frequency of its repetition is described for us by Fulcherius and Daniel. Bernhard, Arethas, Fulcherius, and Daniel, all give the impression that the chant of the Kyrie was the beginning of the "office" of the lighting of the lamp (if we can speak of such

¹⁰³ Ma'sûdi witnesses to the common belief of the Christians that the fire is miraculously produced, but he himself says that it is produced by a "clever artifice".

an occurrence in terms of liturgical offices). Radulfus Glaber says, rather, that it was chanted when the light was first seen: "... ut Christianis mos est, cum primum videtur (that is, the fire): Agios, Kyrie, eleison ...". His description, however, is very brief and probably not to be taken as meaning that the Kyrie was sung only at this point. In any case, Fulcherius also describes a chant of Kyrie when the people first see the light.

Closely linked to this in Fulcherius and Daniel is the theme of penance for sins. Fulcherius says that the people thought that it was perhaps because of their sins that the light was not being given: "... quod propter peccata nostra hoc contingeret." The same remark is made by Daniel, who says that each person present thought of his sins and said to himself, "Mes péchés empêcheraient-ils la sainte lumière de descendre?"

Niketas, though he does not refer directly to the chant of Kyrie eleison, nonetheless, describes the fervent prayer of all including the patriarch: "... ὑποῦ τὰς μωσαϊκὰς χεῖρας ἄρας σὺν τῷ χριστωνύμῳ λαῶ ἐκτενῶς καθικετεύων (ἦν) τὸν τῶν ὅλων θεόν." This point is also mentioned by Fulcherius: "(The patriarch) ... supplex ad orandum flendo se prostravit, poscens Dei misericordiam." This intercession of the patriarch reminds us of the description of HS 43: "... δεηθῇ μετὰ δακρύων ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων καὶ ἐκτείνει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος."

3) Another point of concordance found in most of the sources is the bringing of the holy fire out of the tomb and the lighting of the candles of all assembled. This is found in Bernhard, Arethas, Ma'sûdi, Radulfus Glaber (implicitly), Fulcherius and Daniel. The last two along with Bernhard specify that it is the patriarch who brings the fire out of the tomb. Niketas says that it was brought into the "great church" (= the basilica) to light the "πολυφωτοί" there. Daniel also mentions a procession "to the church" (presumably once again the basilica) without specifying that lamps were lit there. He then adds that it was taken by each to light the "lamps in their own churches."¹⁰⁴ Bernhard and Arethas say that it was brought home to light lamps there.

Other Items Found in Some of The Documents

Apart from these elements which are common to most of the witnesses, one or other of the documents help to fill us in on other details of the service.

1) Arethas, Niketas, and Daniel testify to a preliminary seal-

¹⁰⁴ VENEVITINOV, *Žit'e*, p. 136.

ing of the tomb. In Arethas it is the emir who seals the doors; in Niketas both the bishop and the "Ἀγαρηνοῖ" (= Saracens), whereas by the time of Daniel, it is the Latin king Baldwin who performs this function. Thus we have an interesting cross-over from the period of Arab domination to that of the Latins. While the emir was present, presumably as a kind of witness, Baldwin is shown as entering into the ceremony more intimately, praying with the people for the coming of the fire, receiving a lighted candle before all the others, etc...

2) Bernhard, Arethas, and Daniel specify for us the exact place of celebration. In the latter two, all are gathered in the Anastasis waiting around the tomb. Daniel says that the doors of this church are kept closed until the arrival of Baldwin. When he has entered, as many of the people as can, follow; the others are forced to remain in the court.

3) Daniel seems to be alone in his description of the cloud which covers the church, and the rain which follows¹⁰⁵.

The Relation Between These Documents and HS 43

It remains finally to relate the data of these accounts to the description of the rite in HS 43. As we saw above, the material in this manuscript belongs to different historical strata and, in the case of any concrete ceremony, the question may be raised as

¹⁰⁵ Of those documents that speak of the time of the office, Bernhard and Niketas both situate its beginning in the morning. Bernhard explicitly says this, while Niketas' assertion that the miracle took place at the sixth hour more or less implies that the Vigil service had begun in the morning. Of the later documents Fulcherius and Daniel agree in situating the time of the usual coming of the fire at the ninth hour, whereas Radulfus Glaber says somewhat more vaguely: "... dies ipsa in vespertinum transiens penes horam qua sperabatur ignis affuturus," Fulcherius says that the canons began the "officium diurnum horam circiter tertiam", whereas in Daniel the people enter the Anastasis with the king only at the seventh hour, and the office begins at the eighth hour.

The most we can conclude from this is that during the 9th and 10th centuries either 1) the lighting of the lamps was connected with some other service than that of the Paschal Vigil, as neither Bernhard nor Niketas specify which office is in question, or 2) the service during which the miracle occurred was the Vigil and that it was begun in the course of the morning. This latter alternative seems more likely in view of the obvious relation of the lighting of the lamp to the Lucernarium of ARM and GEORG and of the later witness of Fulcherius and Daniel. On the other hand, during the 11th (Radulfus) and 12th (Fulcherius and Daniel) centuries there was a tradition that the usual time of the coming of the fire was about the ninth hour. There is a discrepancy between Daniel and Fulcherius about the time of the beginning of the service.

to which period it belongs. The manuscript is dated 1122, which places it very close to the period of Daniel and Fulcherius. *A priori*, it seems very unlikely that an element that has by this time become so important, indeed *central*, to the Vigil should be presented in an archaic form without comment, and this in a manuscript which, as we have seen, indicates discrepancies between ancient and current practice. Furthermore, a study of the text of the manuscript reveals a close relationship with the elements we have found in the pilgrim narratives:

1) *The position of the Lucernarium* in both HS 43 and the pilgrim documents has been changed from the beginning of the service to a position after the readings.

2) *The chant of Kyrie eleison*, and this "ἐκτενῶς καὶ ἀκαταπαύστως" well describes the frequent repetitions we saw in Fulcherius. In fact, the very word, "ἐκτενῶς", we found in Niketas in relation to the people's beseeching God for the light to appear. Even Niketas' expression, "ὕψου τὰς μωσαϊκὰς χεῖρας ἄρας" finds an echo in HS 43's "ἐκτείνει τὰς χεῖρας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ὕψος."

3) *The theme of penance for sins*. This theme which we found in Fulcherius and Daniel seems to be an echo of HS 43's remark that the patriarch "δεηθῇ μετὰ δακρύων ὑπὲρ τῶν τοῦ λαοῦ ἀγνοημάτων."

4) We have also the entrance of the patriarch into the tomb, as in Bernhard, Fulcherius, and Daniel, as well as the subsequent lighting of the people's candles from the holy fire.

5) Lastly, the carrying of the light to the basilica which we found in Niketas.

Not only are these elements present, but the text of HS 43 represents a greater ritual development of them: the triple prostrations before entering the tomb and once again within it, and the solemn character of the procession to the basilica with the chanting of psalms and refrains based on Is 60,1 with its reference to light.

One important discrepancy between Fulcherius and Daniel, on the one hand, and HS 43, on the other, is the fact that the Latin king and his clergy are conspicuously absent in the account of HS 43, whereas they have a predominant role to play in the other two documents, and this despite the fact that HS 43 was copied in 1122 A. D., a date well into the period of the Latin kingdom. In our preliminary discussion of this manuscript, however, we have already pointed out that this anomaly might be explained in either of two ways: 1) The document might have simply been copied for the archives and thus would not have been intended for real use in the Holy Sepulchre (as was suggested by Dmitriev-

skij), or 2) It might have been drawn up in the hope of an eventual restoration of the Orthodox Patriarchate.

A consideration of the close parallelism between HS 43 and the pilgrim documents suggests, naturally enough, that the rite in question is the same. Klameth, however, following Baumstark's earlier article¹⁰⁶, saw in HS 43 a document stemming from the beginning of the 8th century. In line with this view, he attempts to show that the rite of the holy fire in this document represents an earlier form of the ceremony than that of the pilgrim documents, one in which the miraculous character of the fire is not yet affirmed.

Alluding to the practice described in *Pope Zachary's Letter to Boniface*¹⁰⁷ of lighting on Holy Thursday a lamp, which is to be kept burning for eventual use in the ceremonies of Holy Saturday, he finds in HS 43 traces of a similar arrangement. Thus he points out that earlier in the day of Holy Saturday the myrophoroi¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁶ Cf. KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, pp. 19-46.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. *ibid.*, p. 22. The letter is found in ML 89, 951. Zachary was pope from 741 to 752.

¹⁰⁸ Several times in the course of the Easter services we come across a group of women called the "μυροφόροι". At the second hour of Holy Saturday they come with the patriarch and clergy to the taphos where they clean and prepare the lamps of the sepulchre (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 179). After the Liturgy of the Vigil they incense and anoint the tomb. (*ibid.*, p. 189) At Orthros after the procession into the Holy Sepulchre, the patriarch enters the tomb. When he emerges and says, "Χαίρει, Χριστός ἀνέστη," these women fall down at his feet, then, rising, incense him, and "πολυχρονίζουσαι αὐτόν" they go back to the place, where they are accustomed to stand. (*ibid.*, p. 191) Finally after the Epakousta they come in procession with the clergy to the bema carrying the *triskellia*. During the reading of the Gospel, which follows, they incense constantly. Afterwards, they enter the tomb to incense it and anoint it as the chant, "Μετὰ μύρων προσελθούσαις", (Heothinon second of the tone from the Octoechos) is sung. (*ibid.*, p. 199).

These myrophoroi were obviously named after the women who brought myrrh to Christ's tomb on Easter Sunday morning. In keeping with the principle of imitation of the activities described in the Gospel, the Jerusalem liturgy has the myrophoroi greet the patriarch when he emerges from the tomb after the entrance of Orthros and then incense and anoint the tomb after the Vigil Liturgy and again after the Gospel at the end of Orthros. Apart from this, their function seems to have been largely one of rendering various services toward the upkeep of their shrines. We learn from *ibid.*, p. 191 that they had a special place in the church: "... ὅπου ἐστὶν ἕδος καὶ σήκωσεν". Thus their role was something of a permanent office. Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, pp. 403-406 for other details, such as the possibility that there was a similar group of women in Constantinople inspired by the Jerusalem group.

Mention is also made of the *deaconesses* in the procession to the Sepul-

go into the tomb with the patriarch and other clergy, "... καὶ ἄρξονται πλύνειν τὰς κανδήλας καὶ θήσουσιν αὐτὰς ἔσωθεν τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ζωοποιῶ Τάφου" after which the doors are locked. In this he sees a preliminary lighting of the lamps comparable to that described in the first *Ordo Romanus* or in the letter of Pope Zachary. Thus HS 43 would be situated at an earlier stage of development of the Jerusalem liturgy than that described in Bernhard and later documents, where the lighting of the lamps is believed to be a miraculous occurrence.

We believe, however, that in the light of the many similarities between HS 43 and the pilgrim accounts, the point of view of the Typicon concerning the origin of the fire is similar to that of the pilgrim accounts and that the rite itself is essentially the same.

First of all, Klameth's dating of HS 43 is entirely wrong, being based on Baumstark's earlier opinion, which he himself revised. As we have shown, the document seems to represent the Jerusalem liturgy around the first half of the tenth century, which puts it, roughly speaking, into the same period as Arethas and Niketas, whose descriptions it aptly parallels.

As regards the term, "ἀρτίζω" or "ἀρτύζω" it simply means "to get ready" or "to prepare"¹⁰⁹. This term might well be used to express the preparation of the lamps (filling with oil, etc.) and the act of placing them in the sepulchre. Daniel describes how the monks of the Palestinian monasteries used to place lamps in the sepulchre to receive the holy fire. Daniel himself obtains Baldwin's permission to place a lamp there himself, and describes the care he devoted to its preparation¹¹⁰. Thus the Typicon has nothing to say about when the lamps were actually lit, but when the patriarch enters the tomb, he obviously finds the lamp burning, as the text says that he "ἄψει ἐκ τοῦ ἁγίου φῶς καὶ δίδει εἰς τὸν ἀρχιδιάκονον..." He lights "from" what is called clearly enough the "holy fire" presumably a candle from which the fire is passed on to the people.

The document, rather than describing the miraculous character of the event, seems rather, by the language it uses, to take it for

chre before the Gospel at the end of Easter Orthros. (cf. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon* p. 199). Their function is not described.

¹⁰⁹ LIDDELL-SCOTT, *Lexicon*, "ἀρτίζω", p. 249. The term is not used in the Septuagint or the New Testament (although the related "ἀπάρτιζω, to perfect, or complete" occurs in I Kings 9,25). Liddell and Scott give examples of its use in Greek authors of the last three centuries before Christ.

¹¹⁰ KHITROWO, *Vie et pèlerinage*, p. 76.

granted and to provide a ritual setting for the event in the course of an organized liturgical service. This is the function of a Typicon¹¹¹.

Transference of the Lucernarium

Another question which has to be answered is why the Lucernarium has been moved from out of its proper context (the first part of the service) to a position after the readings, thus necessitating a change in the traditional practice described by Egeria, ARM and GEORG of celebrating the Vigil proper in the basilica. As we have seen, this arrangement is found not only in HS 43 but also in Bernhard, Fulcherius, and Daniel. The atmosphere of uncertainty that we find in the accounts of the latter two witnesses as to when the fire would appear seems to suggest an explanation for this transference. There was need of waiting in the Anastasis until the actual production of the fire from the tomb, before which the procession with candles to the basilica is impossible.

The Duplication of the Lucernarium in GEORG and HS 43

As we mentioned in the Introduction on HS 43, this document represents the culmination of the process whereby Jerusalem incorporated the special services, which Zerfass describes as "*Verkündigungsgottesdienste*", into the normal structure of Vespers. We have already seen this process at work to a lesser degree in GEORG, which, retaining certain elements from the special ancient Lucernarium at the beginning of the service, introduced elements from the ordinary daily Lucernarium after the opening of the doors (Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron*). HS 43 transferring the primitive Lucernarium to a position after its OT readings, begins the service with the ordinary *ordo* of Sunday Vespers, identical, practically speaking, with that of Sabba. The Stichera for Ps 140 are all from the ordinary first tone Sunday series, and the Prokeimenon after the entrance is the usual Sunday one. To our surprise, HS 43 continues the *ordo* of Vespers even beyond the OT

¹¹¹ The questions of the veracity of the miraculous quality of the event and of possible explanations of the phenomenon itself do not directly concern us. Cf. KLAMETH, *Das Karsamstagsfeuerwunder*, pp. 35 ff. For other studies on the Holy Fire, cf. SCHMALZ, *Das heilige Feuer* and SCHMIDT, *Die Feier*. The older study of AVDULOVSKIJ, *Svjatij ogn*, presents later witnesses from 1420 A. D. without, however, any exact references to published material. MEINARDUS, *The Ceremony* also presents medieval witnesses but is chiefly interesting for its rather clear description of current practice.

readings, where we would normally expect the Liturgy to begin. After the ceremony of the Holy Fire and the procession to the basilica, Vespers is concluded with all its usual elements: Καταξίωσον, Stichera, Canticle of Simeon, Apolytikion and even the prayer by the patriarch. Thus, in this document, too, as in GEORG we have a reduplication of the light rite.

Hymnic Elements in HS 43's Lucernarium as Compared with the Earlier Documents

While many of the elements of the ancient Lucernarium were preserved by HS 43 even in the transfer to its place after the readings, enough, indeed, to affirm the basic identity of the two, nonetheless, much of the hymnodic content has changed. Ps 112 which appeared in ARM and then went to form part of the psalmody of GEORG's processions, is no longer found in HS 43 in connection with the Lucernarium. Of the copious psalmody of GEORG's there processions, only two psalms in their entirety have passed over into HS 43's procession to the basilica (which follows the lighting of the candles from the holy fire): Pss 64 and 147. These are sung with two refrains, the first of these being the Heirmos of the ninth Ode of the Paschal Canon. The second, which also begins with the same word ("Φωτίζου"), is no longer in current use in the Byzantine liturgy. To these are added Ps 150, but no refrain is specified.

The Procession to the Basilica in HS 43 Related to Earlier Practice

A final word of clarification is in order concerning the initial procession to the basilica. It will be remembered that ARM is the first document to witness to the fact that after the Lucernarium in the Anastasis, the community went to the martyrium to begin the Vigil. In this document no chants are specified. In GEORG, while the topography presents a problem in that the service seems to be situated in one church only, nonetheless, the opening of the doors is probably a trace left by the entrance into the martyrium according to the true Jerusalem tradition. With HS 43 we return to this tradition and after the lighting of the candles, a procession is formed which goes to the martyrium. It departs from the earlier tradition, as we have pointed out, however, in that it transfers its procession until after the OT readings.

The section of HS 43's Vespers corresponding to the Vigil of the earlier documents will be considered in the next part.

A Final Indirect Witness to Jerusalem Practice

There is another document which betrays Jerusalem influence, and, although it dates only from 1353 A. D., it is of interest to us because of the archaic character of certain items. Codex Vatican Syriac 21 is a Melkite Praxapostolos written, however, in Syriac in 1353 A. D. by John the Priest in the monastery of St. Panteleimon near Antioch. Assemani¹¹² describes the codex in some detail, because of the fact that over and above the lectionary material which it provides, there are somewhat copious rubrical indications for Holy Week. These describe ceremonies which were by no means common in the Byzantine ecclesiastical world so late as 1353. In the course of the Holy Saturday entry, reference is made to the "magna ... Catholica Ecclesia" as opposed to other churches in the area. Assemani is probably right in identifying this with the patriarchal church of Antioch¹¹³.

Sabbatho (sic) magno ad Vesperas. Incensant juxta ordinem. Et dicit Pontifex hanc Orationem elata voce. Benedictus es in templo sancto gloriae tuae Christe Deus noster semper, nunc. Hypodiaconus a porta occidentali respondet. Amen. Postea proclamat Diaconus, et Sacerdos recitat orationem Luminum. Sit autem Lampas posita sub Altari. Quumque Sacerdos elata voce dicit Orationem, accendit Episcopus candelam, et post eum omnis populus, et dicunt. Surge illuminare, surge illuminare, surge illuminare, et reliqua, et processionem faciunt; quumque ingrediuntur, ascendunt, sedentque in eminentioribus gradibus. Prochimenon. Dominus regnavit, et decorem. Et legunt Lectiones. Si vero paratus sit quis ad baptizandum, unus e Sacerdotibus illum baptizat. Et quum ad Prophetiam Danielis ventum fuerit, procedunt Sacerdotes, et Ingressum faciunt: baptizati autem in Gazophylacium ante Sacerdotes introeunt: ipsisque introeuntibus legitur Prophetia: postea proclamat Diaconus: et Sacerdos dicit Orationem Trisagii: et pro Sanctus, dicitur: Vos qui in Christo baptizati estis. Et dicunt Prochimenon, tono 8. In universa terra adorent te, et canant tibi, et glorificent nomen tuum. Versus. Laudate Deum omnis terra, canite honori gloriae ejus. Apostolus ad Romanos. Fratres. An ignoratis, quod nos, qui baptizati sumus in Jesu Christo, in mortem ejus baptizati sumus. (C. 6, vv. 3-12) Pro Alleluja, dicunt hunc Psalmum tono 7. Exurge Deus, et judica terram, quoniam tu haereditabis omnes gentes. Et populus repetit post eum, donec totum Psalmum absolvat. Et in omnibus quidem Ecclesiis, pro Alleluja, Psalmus iste dicitur, absque, Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ. In magna vero Catholica Ecclesia,

¹¹² ASSEMANI, *Catalogus*, Pars I, Tom 2, pp. 146-50.

¹¹³ *Ibid.*, p. 150.

idest in Patriarchali, dicitur Ψαλμὸς τῷ Δαυίδ. Et perficiunt Missam de more. Ad Communionem. Surrexit. Dominus tamquam dormiens, et veluti vir a vino suo excitatus.

A comparison between this and HS 43 is striking:

HS 43 (Papadopoulos-Kerameus, pp. 183-186)	VAT SYR 21 (Assemani, pp. 149-150)
--	------------------------------------

Incensation of all shrines

Incensant juxta ordinem.

Pontifex: Benedictus es ...

Hypodiaconus: (a porta occidentali): Amen.

"proclamat diaconus"

Sacerdos recitat orationem

Prostrations and entry into tomb where the patriarch prays for his own sins and those of people, as Kyrie eleison is sung.

Patriarch takes light from within tomb. Others light their candles.

Pontifex lights candle from candle which has been placed beneath the altar. Others light their candles.

Two stichera beginning each with words Φωτίζου, φωτίζου are sung with three psalms.

Surge illuminare, surge illuminare, surge illuminare et reliqua. (sic)

Procession to basilica.

Procession.

Vespers concluded from the Canticle of Simeon.

Vespers sung beginning with prokeimenon.

The closeness of the two accounts is evident. The topography of Jerusalem is absent in the second account, but there is an attempt at imitation. The candle placed beneath the altar is probably intended to simulate the light in the tomb. The procession following the Lucernarium does not seem to have some other church as terminus as was the case in Jerusalem. Probably it simply returned to the same church. This state of affairs is similar to what we found in connection with GEORG where there was probably adaptation to local conditions in Georgia. On the other hand, however, there are certain archaic elements which represent a state of affairs more primitive than that of HS 43. For one thing, there is no duplication of this primitive Lucernarium. After

the procession Vespers begin with the Prokeimenon preceding the readings. This harks back to the stage of development represented by ARM. Further, it is precisely at the beginning of the evening service that the Lucernarium occurs. It has not been transferred to after the readings as in HS 43.

In view then of its similarity to the Jerusalem service with an attempt at adaptation even of the topographical elements, this Antiochean service probably represents a borrowing from the practice of the Jerusalem church. It seems to have been taken over at some period prior to that which is described by HS 43, and this because of the presence of the more primitive elements.

It remains to point out, however, that the rite described contains certain elements not described by the Jerusalem sources. After the incensation, there is a "blessing" sung by the Bishop, to which the subdeacon answers "Amen" from the West (back) door of the church. This is followed by a deaconal litany or a simple invitation to prayer, after which a priest says the *orationem luminum*. It is not necessary to suppose that these elements were absent from the earlier Jerusalem sources. In their greater economy of description, they might simply have been taken for granted.

Certain of these elements turn up again in Codex Dresden A 104, a Praxapostolos of the 11th-12th century with copious rubrics representing the practice of the church of Hagia Sophia in Constantinople. Here, too, in the course of the afternoon after a preliminary incensation of the Great Church, the patriarch sings the very same "blessing" and once again a cleric answers "Amen" from the back of the church. After this the doors are opened, and nothing further takes place. The Vigil begins later with the usual Vesper service. In view of the close liturgical relationship between Constantinople and Antioch, the ceremony (incensation, blessing, opening of the doors) might well have come to the capital from Antioch¹¹⁴. Its full sense was lost, however, in the course of time, and only the initial elements were preserved. It was not even permitted to remain in connection with the Vigil itself but was separated from it and placed in the afternoon.

Conclusion on the Lucernarium

Our investigations thus far have already revealed the considerable evolution traceable through the various periods in the history of the Jerusalem liturgy.

¹¹⁴ A further point of contact between the two centers lies in the fact that Vat Syr 21 has the SOPH propers for its Vigil Liturgy.

1) Egeria is completely silent concerning the Lucernarium, although we have every reason to believe that this important rite was performed then as on all other days. Her silence seems to point to the fact that it presented little out of the ordinary and thus needed no mention.

2) In the case of ARM we find that the two most important manuscripts present certain differences. First of all, while all codices agree that the service begins with the chant of Ps 112 in the Anastasis, *J* and *Er* situate the lighting of the candle which then follows, in the martyrion. *P*, however, along with the later tradition represented by GEORG *P* and *K* and HS 43, says that this also takes place in the Anastasis. We have explained our reasons for believing that this was probably true also at the time of Egeria. In the light of this, we have suggested that *J* and *Er* have not retained the true Jerusalem tradition.

Secondly, *P* mentions the lighting of three candles in this connection, an item which seems to stem from later Armenian practice and did not enter into the pure Jerusalem tradition. We have tried to show that *J*'s mention of the lighting of a single candle is not to be interpreted so literally as to mean that there was no lighting of the candles of the assistants (as found in GEORG and HS 43).

3) In the case of GEORG we find that structurally speaking the Lucernarium has been embellished by the introduction of three processions preceding the lighting of the candles. The reason for this addition was perhaps its symbolic value as a representation of the three days which Christ spent in the tomb. On the ideological level we find a growing interest in the lighting of the candle as witnessed by the expression "novam candelam" in *P* and *S* and by the fact that it is said to be "blessed" and not merely lit.

Another important feature of GEORG is the introduction of Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron* after the opening of the doors. The addition of these items from the normal Vesper service brings about a kind of a duplication of the light service.

4) With HS 43 this process of introducing elements from ordinary Vespers reaches its peak, and the ancient Lucernarium-Vigil is fitted into the complete structure of festal Vespers followed by Liturgy.

Despite this, however, the primitive Lucernarium is maintained in the shape it had in GEORG with the three processions, though no psalmody is provided for them. The entire rite, however, has been transferred to a position after the OT readings. The opening of the doors and the "entrance" (which in GEORG was

equivocal because only one church was used) is clearly related to the entrance into the basilica.

The importance of the light itself becomes even greater than in GEORG. Here it is referred to as "τὸ ἅγιον φῶς". Further, the actual lighting of the lamp is performed with great solemnity: incensation of the tomb and of the entire church, repeated chant of Kyrie eleison, and prostrations of the clergy.

5) Other non-liturgical documents which we have consulted have helped to bring out the ideological basis for this extraordinary importance attributed to the light and the elaboration of the ritual connected with it. They make it clear that the light is believed to have been produced by miraculous means.

They confirm in more or less detail the shape which the ceremony of the lighting of the lamps has in HS 43. Further, the uncertainty we find, particularly in Fulcherius and Daniel concerning the exact moment when the fire would appear, helps to explain why the rite became somewhat detached from its primitive context. In Daniel the fire comes only at the beginning of the Exodus canticle, while in Fulcherius it does not arrive at all during the Vigil but only on Easter morning.

6) One final document of the church of Antioch (Vat Syr 21) shows considerable traces of influence of the primitive Paschal Lucernarium of Jerusalem. Apart from the concrete points of similitude with HS 43 (incensation, lighting of one candle, then the candles of all, procession with the chanting of the same Sticheron as in HS 43), this text is of interest in that it has preserved the rite in its primitive position at the beginning of the service, which is not the case with HS 43. It further reflects a more primitive form of the Jerusalem liturgy than does HS 43 in that the Lucernarium is not duplicated by the insertion of Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron*. Rather, Vespers is taken up at the Prokeimenon after the entrance.

4. The Vigil Proper

A glance at Chart A shows that the general outline of the Vigil is not a complicated one. Thus we find in all of the documents, except Egeria, who limits her remarks to certain sections of the service, the following items:

- opening psalmody
- OT readings with related items
- baptisms
- Liturgy

Introductory Elements

The Armenian manuscripts explicitly indicate that the Vigil proper begins with the singing of Ps 117 after which the readings begin. The same point in GEORG seems to be the chant of Ps 147. It is sung "modo festivo alternis vicibus" as the clergy come out of the sicriton, and, according to *P* and *S*, go to the altar. There follows a *kverexi et oratio*, after which there is another psalm in the form of a Prokeimenon: Ps 81,8 ("Arise, O God, judge the earth") with verse one as stichus. As regards HS 43, in the light of what was said above concerning the incorporation of the Paschal Vigil into the structure of Saturday Vespers, it is hard to speak of the "beginning" of the Vigil proper. Nonetheless, it offers a parallel to GEORG in that the readings occur after the entrance of the clergy. The psalmody which follows the entrance in HS 43, however, is considerably simpler and consists in the usual Saturday Prokeimenon, whose presence is to be attributed more to being part of ordinary Saturday Vespers than to its function as opening psalm of the Vigil proper. Further, Ps 92 is not found in the initial psalmody of GEORG.

The Cursus of the Readings I: The Ancient Jerusalem Cursus

The cursus of twelve readings is identical in ARM, GEORG, JER and SABBA save that the exact length of the pericopes is sometimes different, those of GEORG being in quite a few cases longer. It seems impossible to determine whether or not there was an earlier shape of this cursus with fewer readings. The early Syriac lectionary material, which *a priori* might seem to be of some help in this regard because of influence from Jerusalem, *de facto* is not very helpful with regard to the Easter services.

Codex Brit. Mus. Add. 14528 edited by Burkitt¹¹⁵ is the earliest of the documents in question. It is thought by Burkitt to represent the Syriac lectionary system before the reform of Peter of Edessa who became bishop in 498¹¹⁶. Although it shows the influence of Jerusalem in certain concrete points, according to Burkitt, "the great bulk of our document appears to me to be a home growth"¹¹⁷.

As a matter of fact, the twelve Old Testament readings at what appears to be the Easter Vigil represent a pattern both in

¹¹⁵ Cf. BURKITT, *The Early Syriac*.

¹¹⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 4.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 24.

terms of the number of readings, as well as the books used and the order of their occurrence. This pattern is repeated on *all* the great feasts of the lectionary, even on Easter day itself. In common with the readings of ARM, the lectionary has for the Vigil the following items:

<i>B. M. Add. 14528</i>	<i>ARM</i>
Dan 3,23 - 4,3	Dan 3,1-90
Jon 1,17b to end of the book	Jon 1,1 to end of the book
2 Kings 2,1 - 15a	2 Kings 2,1 - 22
Is 60,1 - 22	Is 60,1 - 13
Gen 22,1 - 19	Gen 22,1 - 18
Ex 12,51 - 14,26	Ex 12,1 - 24
	Ex 14,24 - 15,21
I Cor 15,1 - 26	I Cor 15,1 - 11c
Matt 28,1 - 7b	Matt 28,1 - 20

The fragments discussed by Baumstark¹¹⁸, although they show greater similarity to Jerusalem practice as represented by ARM, do not touch upon material of the Easter celebration.

Finally, the lectionary edited by Smith Lewis¹¹⁹ represents, according to Burkitt¹²⁰, a considerably later state of affairs. Under the heading of the Paschal Vigil, there are only two Old Testament readings: Is 60,1-22 and Jn 1,1-4,11. Earlier in the lectionary under the heading of Monday in Holy Week, there is found a lesson which is common to this Monday and "Holy Saturday of Easter" (cf. pg. CXXXV). It is Gen 1,1-3,24. This probably indicates another reading for the Vigil. Further in the light of the four Old Testament readings of the Christmas and Easter Vigils Baumstark suggests that the Easter Vigil also must have had four. This he supposes to be Gen 22,1-19 although it is listed under Thursday of Holy Week¹²¹. His reasoning for this however, is neither clear nor convincing.

Thus while there are some interesting points of contact between this material and the ancient Jerusalem cursus as regards concrete readings it is impossible to conclude anything concerning the cursus as such. Dom Botte, in a study of the readings of the pre-1950 Roman Vigil, indicates which of these are found in other rites¹²².

¹¹⁸ BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 6-7.

¹¹⁹ Cf. SMITH LEWIS, *Lectionary*.

¹²⁰ BURKITT, *The Old Lectionary of Jerusalem*, p. 419.

¹²¹ BAUMSTARK, *Nichtevangelische Syrische Perikopenordnungen*, p. 164.

¹²² BOTTE, *Le choix*, p. 68.

In comparison with the Ambrosian cursus and what Botte attempts to reconstruct as the primitive Roman cursus, which have six readings each, the Jerusalem cursus seems relatively large with its twelve readings. Three of these readings (Gen 1-3, Gen 22, Ex 14-15) are found in all the cursus which Botte studies. Ex 12 is omitted only by the primitive Roman. Ezechiel 37 along with Dan 3 are omitted only by the primitive Roman and the Ambrosian cursus. In the ancient Jerusalem cursus the block of readings is divided by readings six and twelve, which are scriptural canticles.

The Cursus of the Readings II: The Later Cursus Borrowed from Constantinople

Another striking feature which sets off the *ordo* of HS 43 from the earlier one of ARM and GEORG is the difference in the cursus of readings for the Vigil. This new cursus, which consists of fifteen readings instead of twelve, is identical for all practical purposes with that of the Typicon of Sabba. Rahlfs has shown that the origin of Sabba's system of readings is clearly Constantinopolitan in origin¹²³. Ehrhard proposes that the period during which the Constantinopolitan system prevailed in the Palestinian Byzantine Rite would have been from the middle of the seventh to sometime during the first half of the eighth century, the period following the Council in Trullo (692 A. D.). Part of the work of the council would have been the centralization of calendar and lectionary in an attempt to protect the East against inroads of Western influence¹²⁴.

It is not accurate, however, to say that the entire Constantinopolitan cursus was adopted. Baumstark has indicated in detail where the older Jerusalem tradition has been preserved and where the influence of SOPH has won out¹²⁵. However, in the OT readings of the Paschal Vigil, the cursus is clearly that of Constantinople.

HS 43, as we have seen, represents a large measure of infiltration of the monastic Typicon of Palestine. Two suppositions regarding it are possible: first, that the influence of SOPH's cursus was felt directly by the patriarchal Typicon of Jerusalem at some time during the period between GEORG and HS 43, or secondly that it came in indirectly with the introduction of the Palestinian monastic elements. The first of these options seems more likely,

¹²³ RAHLFS, *Die Lektionen*, p. 165.

¹²⁴ EHRHARD, *Überlieferung* I, 33.

¹²⁵ BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 20-21.

inasmuch as HS 43 has preserved certain details of the pure Constantinopolitan tradition which are not to be found in the Sabba documents. Thus the first reading from Genesis 1 is limited to verses 1-5, whereas Sabba continues on to verse 13. More important, the Prokeimenon (Ps 26) following the third reading has been preserved, whereas there is no trace of it in Sabba. The structure and content of this SOPH cursus will be studied in the course of the chapter devoted to SOPH's Typicon. It is to be noted here, however, that in adopting the SOPH cursus, HS 43 has lost the prayers which occurred between each reading in ARM and GEORG, these being absent in SOPH. Thus the readings were taken over as a block with the intervenient chants of SOPH and the absence of the prayer element between the readings.

Elements Inserted Between the Readings

In ARM each reading is followed by a prayer with genuflection. Further, Renoux thinks it is possible that there was also a chant before each of these readings, this on the basis of Codex 5 of the Jerusalem monastery of St. James which gives a few verses of the psalm before each of the readings¹²⁶. The sixth reading (Is 60,1-13) is sung with the same non-scriptural refrain in *P* and *Er*. The twelfth reading (Dan 3,1-90) is sung with non-scriptural refrains in all three codices¹²⁷. In *Er*'s fifth reading, Ex 14,24-15,21, the

¹²⁶ RENOUX, *Liturgie*, pp. 182-83.

¹²⁷ Renoux finds in these refrains an indication of the difference in age between the two traditions represented by *P* and *J*. *P* has, for instance, a refrain after the sixth reading where *J* has none. Furthermore, while both have two refrains for Dan 3, the second of these in the case of *J* is more suited to the context of the canticle than that of *P* which seems to fit better with the second reading of the Vigil, Gen 22, 1-18 (RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, pp. 64-65). The first of the refrains for Daniel are rather similar in both, but *P* substitutes for the initial "Seigneur" of *J*, the expression, "Sainte Trinité incorruptible." Renoux suggests that this might reflect the Christological debates of the 5th century. (*ibid.*, p. 65) The refrains for the Daniel canticle in *Er* are those of *J*.

These refrains used with the sixth and twelfth readings of the Vigil seem to have no echo in later Jerusalem practice. GEORG *S* has a scriptural refrain for the canticle following the fifth reading (Ex 15, 1-21) as does HS 43 for those following its sixth and twelfth readings (Ex 15, 1-19 and Dan 3, 1-88). As we shall see shortly, any possible internal evolution of this entire reading section of the Vigil was eventually precluded by the fact that the Constantinopolitan cursus was adopted by Jerusalem at some time during the period between the elaboration of GEORG and that of HS 43. Along with the readings, the scriptural refrains for the sixth and fifteenth pericopes of Constantinople were also introduced. Thus Renoux's

canticle (*ibid.* 15,1-21) is provided with a refrain (*ibid.*, 1) and thus was presumably sung.

In GEORG the only refrain we find in connection with a canticle is in GEORG *S* where the canticle Ex 15,1-21 is sung with *ibid.*, 1 as refrain after each three verses. There is a *kverexi et oratio* after each of the readings, but there is no mention of psalmody of any kind, except in *S*, which we must now consider.

The text of GEORG *S* at this point is not clear. After stating simply that there are twelve readings accompanied by *kverexi et oratio cum genuum flexione*, and describing briefly the entrance of the newly baptized which takes place after them, it passes immediately to the description of Sabba's ordo for the Vigil conclud-

assertion that these refrains are of Jerusalem origin and do not stem from from properly Armenian usage, is not contradicted by the fact of their absence in HS 43. The case of GEORG, however, is harder to understand. Here we find no refrain for these canticles except in *S*, which has one only for Ex 15, 1-21. According to Renoux's own assertion, the direction of evolution in the Jerusalem liturgy was towards ever more abundant hymnic elements. (cf. *Le Codex Arménien*, pp. 63-64). In the light of this, it is hard to understand how in this case the reverse should be true. It must be admitted, however, that GEORG does not always represent as pure a version of the Jerusalem ordo as do ARM and HS 43, and thus it is possible that we are dealing with something proper to this document.

Renoux, moreover, points to the fact that the Daniel canticle used in connection with the ordinary morning office in various Eastern and Western liturgies is always accompanied, not only by the Scriptural refrain, but also by one of ecclesiastical composition, which is repeated at various places in the canticle. (MATEOS, *Lelya-Sapra*, p. 417, however, points out that in the case of the Chaldean Rite, the non-scriptural refrains are not primitive.) Further, he calls attention to the fact that this canticle in both Armenian and Chaldean morning prayer is followed by a short prayer (one of several provided for various seasons and occasions) which bears resemblance to the first of the refrains for Dan 3 at the Easter Vigil in *J*. This remark, however, is of limited applicability because, in the case of morning prayer, the items are prayers and not chants. Further, it must be remembered that the resemblance in the case of the Chaldean prayer is very slim, as Renoux himself points out. (*Le Codex Arménien*, p. 66). In any case, we do not feel that one can conclude, so surely as does Renoux, that these refrains stem from purely Jerusalem sources and not from subsequent Armenian ones.

Note that Renoux adds greater detail to Conybeare's description of *P* in pointing out that the refrain for Is 60,1-13 is sung after the first verse of the canticle, but only the second half is repeated after the second and probably the other verses. (CONYBEARE, *Rituale*, p. 522; RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 63). The refrains of *J* for Daniel are found in some later Armenian manuscripts, whereas those of *P* are not. They are found in connection with the canticle as used at morning prayer; the Paschal Vigil does not have them. (cf. RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 65).

ing with the remark that the Liturgy is performed in the "three churches" and finally, "Vos autem sicut vultis facite". The text then continues: "Et iterum incipiunt et dicunt: Venite adoremus et proiciamus (sic)" followed by a *kverexi et oratio*. It then proceeds to list the OT pericopes, each preceded by a psalm with Alleluia in numerical order, beginning with Ps 9.

To which tradition does this refer, Jerusalem or Sabba? *A priori*, one would expect the listing of the pericopes to refer to the Jerusalem ordo, this being the main concern of the Lectionary. However, the presence of a series of psalms in numerical order between each of the readings makes one wonder if it is not the Sabba ordo which is being described. This is further brought out by the fact that the other manuscripts make no mention of such psalmody between the readings.

A comparison with the readings at GEORG's other Vigils¹²⁸ shows that psalmody is present between the readings in all the manuscripts that cover the material in question. The psalms used, however, are not in strict numerical sequence but seem definitely chosen for their appropriateness to the feast. Another feature of the psalmody for these other Vigils is the fact that the refrains are, for the most part, poetical compositions. Thus we have, on the one hand, psalms chosen in function of the feast sung with poetic refrain, while, on the other, we have psalms chosen in strict numerical order sung in their entirety with Alleluia as refrain. It would thus seem that we are dealing with two different types of psalmody¹²⁹. Furthermore, the first type is found in all the manuscripts for Christmas, Epiphany, and Good Friday, while the second is found only in *S* for Holy Saturday. This leads us to conclude that the latter refers to Sabba and not Jerusalem.

The second part of GEORG *S* helps to clarify the exact order of the elements in conjunction with each reading in this monastic cursus¹³⁰:

psalm "cum alleluia alternis vicibus"
Gloria

¹²⁸ Christmas (12-15); Epiphany (96-107); Good Friday (642-664).

¹²⁹ Friday also has a "Vigil" (665-704) beginning at the sixth hour which has a blend of monastic and cathedral psalmody. After four psalms in numerical order (1-4) in all the manuscripts, readings from both Testaments follow; in between every two readings (for the most part) there is a confusion of monastic and cathedral psalmody; *L* generally omits the monastic ones. The cathedral type has psalmodic refrains; the monastic, poetic ones.

¹³⁰ TARCHNISCHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire*, Appendix I, par. 174.

kverexi et oratio cum genuflexione
reading
kverexi et oratio cum genuflexione

The rubric "cum alleluia alternis vicibus" in conjunction with what is obviously a monastic type of psalmody is surprising. Perhaps the solemnity of the occasion seemed to warrant the more elaborate rendition. This second part also specifies that these twelve readings and psalms were also performed at Sinai for the Paschal Vigil¹³¹.

Baptisms

ARM makes no mention of baptism in connection with the readings, but during the singing of the "benediction"¹³² the newly-baptized enter with the bishop, according to *J*. *P*, however, has "deacons" instead of "newly-baptized". While most of the later lectionaries follow *J* on this point (including *Bod* which usually follows *P* very closely), there are some which *de facto* omit mention of this entrance of the newly-baptized¹³³. *P*, however, throughout Lent provides Biblical pericopes obviously designed to prepare the catechumens for baptism. This may be considered an oblique reference to the baptisms on Holy Saturday night, especially since the conferring of this sacrament at this time was traditional both before (*Egeria* and *ARM J*) and afterwards. These considerations have led Renoux to suggest that perhaps the copyist wished to call attention by the use of the word "deacon" instead of "newly-baptized" to the presence of deacons as ministers of the bishop in the ceremony of initiation¹³⁴. Otherwise, if there were really no baptisms, it would have been for a passing moment in the history of the Jerusalem Church. Thus though there is no direct mention of the baptisms taking place in either of the manuscripts, the reference in *J* to the entrance of the newly-baptized with the bishop during the Daniel canticle leads us to presume that the rites of initiation had been taking place during the readings.

GEORG *P*, however, explicitly states that the bishop baptizes as the deacons read the lessons. *K* and *S* simply state that the

¹³¹ *Loc. cit.*

¹³² According to RENOUX, *Un manuscrit*, p. 397, note 8 this is probably a reference to the canticle Dan 3,1-90, which is the last "reading".

¹³³ RENOUX, *Le Codex Arménien*, p. 100.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 100, note 56.

catechumens are led into the church. *L* and *S* mention the re-entrance of the newly-baptized after the last reading. Thus once again the presumption is that baptism has been conferred during the readings.

In HS 43 the baptisms have completely lost contact with the readings, and are performed not only *after* the readings, but at the very end of Vespers after the prayer of the patriarch. One has the definite impression that baptism, by this time, had lost its practical significance at the Vigil.

Entrance of the Bishop with the Newly-Baptized

From this point on, we have the precious witness of Egeria for the general outlines of the service:

...infantes¹³⁵ cum baptidiati fuerint et uestiti, quemadmodum exient de fonte simul cum episcopo primum ad Anastase ducuntur. Intrat episcopus intro cancellos Anastasis, dicitur unus hymnus, et sic facit orationem pro eis, et sic uenit ad ecclesiam maiorem cum eis, ubi iuxta consuetudinem omnis populus uigilat. Aguntur ibi quae consuetudinis est, etiam et apud nos, et facta oblatione fit missa. (XXXVIII, 1-2).

Though it does not mention the *statio* in the Anastasis, ARM is otherwise in complete agreement with this description. It specifies: "Pendant qu'on dit l'hymne¹³⁶ au milieu de la nuit, la multitude des nouveaux baptisés entrent avec l'évêque." GEORG, on the other hand, says that this entrance was accompanied by the chant of "Quicumque in Christo baptizati estis, Christum induistis, Alleluia." (Gal 3,27).

In HS 43 the patriarch having completed the baptisms, which follow the conclusion of "Vespers", returns to the basilica for the beginning of the Liturgy. Nothing is said explicitly, however, of the newly baptized nor of any chant on the theme of baptism, such as we saw in GEORG. The Sticheron for the entrance, placed under the heading of the Liturgy which now follows, refers rather to the Resurrection.

Liturgy

In ARM and GEORG after the entrance of the newly-baptized, the Liturgy begins with the chant of Ps 64. ARM has verse two

¹³⁵ I. e., the newly-baptized, cf. BASTIAENSEN, *Observations*, p. 16.

¹³⁶ Literally "benediction"; cf. p. 65, note 132.

of the psalm as refrain, while GEORG has the Troparion "Christus surrexit a mortuis." The Apostle and Gospel are identical in both (I Cor 15,1-11 and Mt 28,1-20). The only other proper part given by ARM, however, is the Alleluia with Ps 29,2. In GEORG the Alleluia is taken from Ps 101,14. *S* gives as alternative Ps 147,2. GEORG gives in addition a *cantus manuum lotionis* and a communion, both of which are non-scriptural and do not figure in later Byzantine texts.

By the time of HS 43 almost the entire fund of the earlier Jerusalem tradition for the Liturgy had been replaced by imported items. The Apostle has been replaced by that of Constantinople: Rom 6,3-11. The chants, both with regard to their genre as well as the actual texts, are all from other sources. Only Mt 28 remains from the older tradition, and this simply because SOPH had the same reading in this spot. HS 43 has only vv. 1-7 of the chapter, however, unlike ARM, GEORG and SABBA, all of which have vv. 1-20. The Liturgy of HS 43 will be studied more fully in connection with the Sabba tradition.

The Second Liturgy

Both Egeria and ARM witness to a second Divine Liturgy performed by the patriarch in the Anastasis, after the dismissal of the main vigil Liturgy¹³⁷. In Egeria, the procession to the Anastasis is accompanied by hymns:

"... Et post facta missa vigiliarum in ecclesia maiore, statim cum ymnis venitur ad Anastase et ibi denuo legitur ille locus evangelii resurrectionis, fit oratio et denuo ibi offeret episcopus; sed totum ad momentum fit propter populum, ne diutius tardetur, et sic iam demittetur populus." (XXXVIII, 2).

This is closely followed by ARM, which, however, does not mention the chant of hymns on the way to the Anastasis.¹³⁸ As in

¹³⁷ It is not impossible that there was a double celebration of the Liturgy every Sunday morning (once in the basilica, then again in the Anastasis); cf. BASTIAENSEN, *Observations*, pp. 85-88 cited by ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, p. 6, note 15.

¹³⁸ In the case of *Er*, after the first Liturgy, it is said: "... on offre le sacrifice devant le Saint-Golgotha et à la Sainte-Anastasis" thus implying that there were *three* Liturgies. Renoux suggests, however, that in view of the earlier and later tradition of *two* Liturgies, the reference to Golgotha is perhaps intended to describe the position of the Anastasis: "... à la Sainte-Anastasis (située) devant le Saint-Golgotha." (p. 55, note 41). Whatever the explanation of this text, it does not seem to correspond to the actual practice of the Anastasis at any period in its history.

Egeria, this second liturgy begins with the reading of the Gospel (*P*: Jn 20,1-18; *J*: Jn 19,38-20,18; *Er*: Jn 20,1-18) *B* does not mention another Liturgy but simply the reading of the Gospel. As we know, *B* represents a later form of the liturgy. The absence of the Eucharist seems to be a stage in the evolution towards the ordo of GEORG which not only makes no mention of a second Liturgy, but no longer has even a reading of the Gospel at this point. The pericope, Jn 20,1-18, read here in ARM, is placed by GEORG in a service described as "Ad Matutinum". After the description of the Liturgy, GEORG *L* adds: "...intrans ad vigiliis canonem non dicunt, librum tantum legunt quia gaudere oportet hac nocte." (740) This remark is most probably an indication that the *psalmodia currens* is to be omitted at the beginning of the Vigil¹³⁹.

HS 43 has retained the second Liturgy according to the ancient tradition. Considerations of time, no doubt, have led, however, to a slightly different arrangement. Instead of waiting until the dismissal of the first Liturgy before celebrating the second, the patriarch after having assisted at the first Liturgy until the Cherubikon, charges the protopriest to complete the service. He immediately leaves to celebrate the Liturgy of St. James in the Holy Sepulchre: "ἔσωθεν ἐπὶ τὸν Ἅγιον Λίθον." ¹⁴⁰ As in Egeria and ARM this is begun with the Gospel. An interesting detail here, however, is that the Gospel is read by the patriarch. For the chant *Εἰς τὰ ἅγια* ¹⁴¹ the text refers back to the main Vigil Liturgy. The only other items indicated are the Koinonikon: "Σὼμα Χριστοῦ" with a variant: "Ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν" based on Ps 77,65 and a special *ὁπισθάμβωνος*, these presumably being used at the main Liturgy as well.

Function of the Second Liturgy

What is to be said of the character of this second Liturgy at the end of the Vigil? On two other occasions, Egeria describes

¹³⁹ On the use of the word "kanon" in connection with the *psalmodia currens*, cf. p. 36, note 82. None of the GEORG manuscripts use the word, "vigiliis", in direct reference to the Paschal Vigil itself. *De facto*, however, there is no *psalmodia currens* at the Vigil in GEORG (save in the Sabba version of *S*). Thus the reference is probably to this office.

¹⁴⁰ The Liturgy of St. James is also used for the second Liturgy on Holy Thursday; cf. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 105.

¹⁴¹ This chant is proper to HS 43 and is distinct from the Cherubikon, which is also present in the same manuscript.

such a second Liturgy, namely on Holy Thursday and on Pentecost Sunday. The following describes their structure.

<i>Holy Thursday</i> (XXXVI,2)	<i>Holy Saturday</i> (XXXVIII,2)	<i>Pentecost</i> (XLIIL,2,3)
After the Liturgy in martyrion (dismissal at 10th hour)	After Vigil in basilica	After office and Liturgy in martyrion at the third hour
venitur post crucem	cum ymnis venit ad Anastase	(populus) ... cum ymnis ducent episcopum in Syon
second Liturgy post crucem	second Liturgy in Anastasis	second Liturgy at Sion
—	evangelium resurrectionis	Acts 2,1-12
unus ymnus tantum oratio	oratio	fit ordine suo missa
oblatio	denuo offert episcopus	offertur et ibi
communicant omnes	—	—
procession to Anastasis	—	—
oratio	—	—
blessing of catechumens faithful	—	—
missa	demittitur populus	ut dimittatur populus mittit vocem archidiaconus

A comparison of these three cases shows that there is a greater affinity between the Easter and Pentecost celebrations in Egeria's description; both involve a procession with hymns to a church different from the one in which the preceding service was held. While on Easter this second Liturgy is begun with the reading of the Gospel, on Pentecost a reading from Acts is also added ¹⁴²

¹⁴² No specific mention is made of the Gospel, but this would presumably be implied by the expression, "... fit ordine suo missa."

due to the fact that the description of Pentecost is found in this book. The Liturgy continues in both cases until the dismissal. On Easter the *oratio* is specified after the Gospel, whereas for Pentecost it is simply said that "fit ordine suo missa."

The case of Holy Thursday stands somewhat apart in that there is no mention of "cum ymnis ad..." but rather it is said that there is sung only one hymn. No mention is made of any reading, but simply *oratio*, then *oblatio*, after which all communicate. Unlike the other two cases, here there is a further change of place to the Anastasis where there is *oratio*, blessing of catechumens and faithful, and only then a dismissal. The mention of the communion of all the faithful at this second Liturgy seems unusual, and perhaps the meaning of its celebration is somehow linked with the fact that it served as a Liturgy of communion. Egeria also mentions that this was the only occasion in the entire year when the Eucharist was celebrated at the chapel *post crucem*. In any case, no circumstances of time of day or specific Scriptural pericopes are indicated to aid us in defining the nature of the celebration.

The case of Easter and Pentecost is quite different. Indications of time, place, and content all point clearly to the fact that these second Liturgies were intended to celebrate a particular mystery of the liturgical year *in situ* by a Eucharistic gathering. On Easter day after a reading of the Scriptural account of the Resurrection the Liturgy is celebrated for a second time in the very place where Christ rose. On Pentecost Sunday at the precise hour indicated by the Scriptural account (third hour), there is, once again, a second celebration of the Liturgy, preceded by a reading of the Biblical account¹⁴³.

¹⁴³ The subsequent history of the second Liturgy on Holy Thursday, however, shows an evolution in the direction of uniformity with the other two days. In ARM it remains in the chapel *post crucem*. In GEORG it no longer occurs (as was found to be the case also for the second Easter Vigil Liturgy in this same document). By the time of HS 43, the ancient first Liturgy in the martyrion has been transformed into what might be called a paraLiturgy for the consecration of the Myron. The entire service imitates the structure of a Eucharistic celebration, but there is, *de facto*, no Eucharist. The ancient second Liturgy in the chapel *post crucem* has been maintained, but it is of a purely private character, celebrated by the protopriest with a few clerics. (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 105). Simultaneously there is celebrated in Sion the Liturgy of St. James (which was used for the second Vigil Liturgy of Easter in the same document). (cf. *ibid.*, pp. 105-108). The readings (I Cor 11,23-32 and Mc 14,12-26) both refer to the institution of the Eucharist. Thus, finally, in this third case of a second Liturgy, HS 43 adapts to the other two cases: celebra-

Conclusions on the Vigil Proper

In comparison with the complexities we have seen in the course of the evolution of the Lucernarium, the Vigil itself turns out to have been subject to relatively little structural change in the course of the centuries.

The presence of some sort of *initial psalmody* is constant in ARM, GEORG, and HS 43, although the psalms used vary.

The central point of evolution with regard to the *OT readings* is the change-over from the older Jerusalem cursus of ARM and GEORG to that of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople used by HS 43. With regard to the canticles found among these readings, we find no explicit indications in ARM and GEORG that these were to be sung; they are simply listed as readings. We cannot conclude from this silence, however, that they were not actually sung. Furthermore, the refrains in ARM (only GEORG S has a refrain, and this only for the canticle of Ex 14) give clear evidence of the chanting of the canticle, at least in these cases. HS 43 provides clear directions for the chanting of the canticles it lists.

As regards the conferring of the sacrament of *baptism*, apart from a slight possibility that ARM P did not have baptisms, we find that the sacrament was conferred according to the primitive tradition during the OT readings. HS 43 was to break with this tradition, transferring them until after the conclusion of Vespers in the basilica.

After the entrance into the basilica of the bishop and the newly-baptized, the Liturgy begins. As regards the proper readings and chants of this part of the celebration, HS 43 is once again the point of departure from the earlier Jerusalem tradition in that the influence of Constantinople is clear in this area.

The ancient second Liturgy in the Anastasis, as found in Egeria, is preserved in the ensemble of the Armenian manuscripts. ARM B, however, has reduced it to the reading of the Gospel pericope, and GEORG has lost it completely. The purpose of this second Eucharist seems to have been a celebration of the mystery of the Resurrection in the place where it occurred, in a way parallel to a similar celebration on Pentecost in honor of the coming of the Holy Spirit.

tion of an event (institution of the Eucharist), at the time it took place (evening), in the place where it occurred (Sion), by the celebration of the Eucharist, with reading(s) of appropriate Scriptural passages.

CHAPTER THREE

THE MORNING SERVICES

We come now to a consideration of the morning services in our documents. Unfortunately, we do not find the same amount of detail in their account as in the description of the Vigil, except in the case of HS 43. One fundamental problem consists in determining just which offices were celebrated on Easter morning. In view of the fact that the celebration takes place on a Sunday, we automatically ask whether or not the weekly Cathedral Vigil was also performed, as was usual on Sundays.

We will begin, then, by trying to determine the answer to this question. First of all, we wish to present the material in each of the documents which leads us to believe that the Cathedral Vigil was or was not celebrated at that time. In the case of HS 43 this also involves an excursus on the wider context of Gospel readings at Matins throughout the entire document. Only after this do we attempt to interpret the witness of the various documents in terms of a possible historical evolution from one to the other. Finally, we offer some necessarily brief remarks on the question of Orthros, as it is mentioned only in HS 43. Even in this case we limit our remarks to those items stemming from true Jerusalem practice, leaving for the fourth section a consideration of the details which follow Sabba practice.

1. The Cathedral Vigil

The Ensemble of the Morning Services in Egeria

Egeria, after her remark that the dismissal of the Vigil took place "qua hora et aput nos", (XXXVIII,2) goes on to say:

Sero autem illi dies paschales sic attenduntur¹⁴⁴ quemadmodum et ad nos et ordine suo fiunt missae per octo dies paschales, sicut et ubique fit per pascha ad octauas. (XXXIX, 1)

¹⁴⁴ Attenduntur = are celebrated; cf. BASTIAENSEN, *Observations*, pp. 63-64.

As in the case of the ordinary Sunday morning gathering (XXV), Egeria does not specify that there was a proper morning service as distinct from the Liturgy¹⁴⁵. As nothing is specified as regards a different arrangement for Easter morning, it would seem to follow that the usual Sunday practice was adhered to. The only point singled out is the fact that this *missa* was celebrated *sero*, a concession no doubt to the faithful, who by now must have begun to feel the fatigue caused by the long offices of the preceding week.

After a brief mention of the festive decor of the Palestinian churches for the Easter celebration, she continues:

Proceditur autem ipsa die dominica prima in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium, et secunda feria et tertia feria, ubi ita tamen, ut semper missa facta de Martyrio ad Anastase ueniat cum ymnis. (XXXIX, 2)

The text goes on to describe the service on Easter evening. Thus we have a brief indication that on Easter day itself and throughout the octave, there was a morning celebration or *missa* which was celebrated *sero*. On Easter day this took place in the basilica after which there was a procession to the Anastasis, according to the ordinary Sunday morning service described in XXV,2¹⁴⁶. Thus once again Egeria is not of much help in establishing the details of the celebration. The schema of the morning service is as follows:

Missa celebrated sero
Procession to the Anastasis
Oratio and blessing of faithful

¹⁴⁵ MATEOS, *La vigile cathédrale*, pp. 293-95, suggests that the Liturgy would have been preceded by certain elements from morning prayer.

¹⁴⁶ Later on in the *Itinerarium* we come across the following passage: Post autem uenerint dies paschae, per illos octo dies, id est a pascha usque ad octauas, quemadmodum missa facta fuerit de ecclesia, et itur cum ymnis ad Anastase, mox fit oratio, benedicuntur fideles et stat episcopus incumbens in cancello interiore, qui est in spelunca Anastasis, et exponet omnia, quae aguntur in baptismo. (XLVII, 1)

One might be tempted to conclude from the expression "... a pascha usque ad octauas" that Egeria meant to include Easter Sunday itself in this series. We find, however, in the eighteenth Mystagogical Catechesis of Cyril of Jerusalem (a contemporary of Egeria, practically speaking), a passage which states explicitly that the series began on Monday. (cf. RENOUX, *Les Catéchèses*, p. 357). This practice was continued in ARM. (cf. ARM, 46).

Egeria has nothing to say on Easter Sunday about the ordinary Sunday Cathedral Vigil with its reading of the Gospel. In itself such an omission would not be surprising, as this service was part of the ordinary Sunday celebration. However, there are certain indications which lead us to wonder if this service *did* take place on Easter Sunday.

First of all, the fact that according to Egeria the services on Easter Sunday were celebrated later in the morning than usual, suggests that they are shortened on this day.

Secondly, on Easter Sunday, the great Paschal Vigil itself, while largely centered around the baptism of the catechumens, nonetheless, had a distinct relation to the mystery of the Resurrection, and this most especially in the last part of the service. It will be remembered that, after the main Vigil Liturgy, there was a procession with hymns to the Anastasis, a reading of the Gospel account of the Resurrection, and a second Liturgy celebrated "totum ad momentum". This part of the service is clearly a celebration of the mystery of the Resurrection itself, as we have already pointed out, *in situ*. The Liturgy is begun precisely with a reading of the Gospel. While the structure of this part of the Vigil is different from that of the ordinary Sunday Cathedral Vigil, the location of the celebration, the presence of the Gospel pericope, and the clear "celebration" of the mystery of the Resurrection all seem to point to the fact that the ordinary Sunday Cathedral Vigil was celebrated on Easter as the concluding portion of the Paschal Vigil rather than as a separate service in the morning as on ordinary Sundays. Thus the morning service might indeed begin *sero*.

The Witness of ARM

Once again we find no mention of the Cathedral Vigil here. Too much importance, however, must not be attributed to this fact, as the Lectionary nowhere makes mention of this type of Vigil¹⁴⁷. The presence of the second Liturgy as in Egeria, however, seems to point to the fact that here, too, this special service continued to replace the ordinary Sunday morning Resurrection Vigil. The structure of this second Liturgy in ARM *J* and *P* follows that of Egeria closely: procession to Anastasis, reading of Gospel, and second Liturgy. In ARM *B*, as we saw, the

¹⁴⁷ ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, p. 63.

Liturgy is no longer celebrated, but there is still a procession to the Anastasis and a reading of the Gospel there (the same pericope as in *J* and *P*).

GEORG: Cathedral Vigil but No Second Liturgy

By the time of GEORG, however, the entire last part of the Vigil has dropped out, and the Gospel pericope used by ARM for the second Liturgy appears, as we have seen, under the heading, "Ad Matutinum".

This latter service is constructed as follows. *L* begins with a mention of "Confitemini, modus VIII cum Alleluia," probably a reference to Ps 117¹⁴⁸. There follows in *L* an "*evangelii prokemonon*" without any concrete indication of what text is used. *S*, on the other hand, gives a series of these, two from Ps 101 and another inspired by Ps 150 with a Stichus from the psalm itself. The Gospel is then given: Jn 20,1-18 to which *S* appends a short acclamation: "Gloria tibi, Domine Jesu Christe, Deus noster, miserere nobis." In *S* we find afterwards an exclamation in honor of Christ followed by the indication, "*orationem facite*." In *L* immediately after the Gospel comes a chant which Tarchnischvili translates *tractus*. The term seems to be based on a root meaning "*enuntiare*" and it is used only here¹⁴⁹. Two of these Tracts are given, and both are non-Scriptural. *L* thus makes no mention of *oratio*. There is no indication as to what time the service takes place or where.

The order of the elements of this service (psalmody, Gospel, *oratio*, chant after the Gospel, seems to point to the Sunday morning Cathedral Vigil, described by Egeria in XXIV,9-11 rather than a true Orthros service. The title "*Ad Matutinum*" should not mislead us. We know that the Cathedral Vigil little by little lost its proper identity in the various Eastern and Western Rites. In the Palestinian Byzantine Rite, for instance, it was incorporated into Orthros¹⁵⁰. Thus the title is not surprising. It is interesting

¹⁴⁸ GEORG's "Confitemini Modus 8 cum Alleluia" might refer to a number of psalms which have this *incipit*: 105, 106, 117 or 135. Practically speaking, however, the two most likely ones are 117, which we find in the same place in HS 43's Palm Sunday Cathedral Vigil, or 135, the Polyelos psalm. While the use of Alleluia would accord well with Ps 135, nonetheless, in view of the parallelism with HS 43 and in the light of our discussion of the Polyelos in connection with the Cathedral Vigil of HS 43 (cf. pp. 99-100), we feel that this psalm is rather to be identified as Ps 117.

¹⁴⁹ We owe this information to the kindness of Rev. Helmut Leeb.

¹⁵⁰ MATEOS, *La vigile cathédrale*, pp. 302-303.

to note, however, that this service is nowhere else described in GEORG save in this one place on Easter day. One must not conclude from this, however, that it did not exist on other Sundays. The structure of Orthros is not described in this document. The fact is that the ordinary daily services are largely taken for granted by the Lectionary. What is important is the fact that the Cathedral Vigil is described on Easter Sunday.

HS 43: Both Second Liturgy and Cathedral Vigil

This "new" celebration of the Cathedral Vigil on Easter Sunday which we found in GEORG is still to be found in the context of HS 43's Sabba-type Orthros, which takes place "ἑσθέρου βαθέως" in the Anastasis. More faithful to the primitive Jerusalem practice, however HS 43 has, unlike GEORG, retained the second Liturgy, as was pointed out before. The fact that this document explicitly calls for the patriarch to read the Gospel at the second Liturgy provides a further point of contact with the practice at the weekly Cathedral Vigil. Thus we find in this document the curious phenomenon of a double Cathedral Vigil on Easter; without abandoning the ancient special form of the Easter Cathedral Vigil in the shape of a second Eucharistic celebration it nonetheless stands in the line of development exemplified by GEORG where even on Easter Sunday the ordinary weekly Cathedral Vigil, in the context of Orthros is performed.

Thus we find the following schema with regards to the contents of the documents:

<i>Egeria</i>	<i>ARM J, P, Er</i>	<i>ARM B</i>	<i>GEORG</i>	<i>HS 43</i>
Second Vigil Liturgy	Second Vigil Liturgy	Reading of Gospel instead of Second Vigil Liturgy	—	Second Vigil Liturgy
No Cathedral Vigil	No Cathedral Vigil	No Cathedral Vigil	Cathedral Vigil	Cathedral Vigil

HS 43 enters into considerable detail in its presentation of this "Paschal" Cathedral Vigil, and we would do well to dwell on it at some length. Despite the fact that the services of HS 43 frequently stem from the influence of the later Sabba Typicon, we are surprised to find that the Cathedral Vigil has not been fitted into the place which this office usually occupies in the monastic document. It occurs after the Ainoi and not between the nocturnal and morning sections of Orthros. In order better to understand this service in the context of the Typicon's usual celebrations

of the Cathedral Vigil, we must consider the other examples which it provides. The document unfortunately covers only from Palm Sunday (begun in the middle of Vespers of Lazarus Saturday) through Orthros of Saturday in Easter week. Thus we find only two Sundays as a frame of reference for the Cathedral Vigil in the strict sense. However, there are quite a few other occasions on which there is a reading of the Gospel in the course of Orthros. Let us now consider these briefly in order better to situate the Cathedral Vigil as represented by this document.

Other Cases of Gospel Readings at Orthros in HS 43

According to the place they occupy, these Gospel readings of Orthros may be divided into three groups: those occurring

- 1) after the sixth Ode of the Canon and before Ps 50 (Palm Sunday)
- 2) after the Great Doxology (Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Thursday, and Saturday of Holy Week)
- 3) after the Ainoi (Easter Sunday and all of Easter Week)

Too much significance, however, must not be attached to the difference between 2) and 3), because in the case of the latter, the Great Doxology is *de facto* not sung on these days.

Structurally speaking, we find that they fall into the following groups:

1) *Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday.* On these days the service in question is the Cathedral Vigil. It is interesting to note that they occur at different places in the course of Orthros.

2) *Weekdays of Easter Week.* These are something of an imitation and prolongation of the Cathedral Vigil of Easter day itself, but in an abbreviated form¹⁵¹ with only one psalm before

¹⁵¹ We find a confirmation of these Gospel readings at Orthros on Easter Sunday and throughout Easter Week in Palestine in the manuscript Vat Barb Gr 383 (III 69), a 13th century copy of the Typicon of the monastery of Casole near Otranto. Thus we read on folio 125v:

Ἰστέον ὅτι ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει καὶ ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ ὅλην τὴν ἑβδομάδα τῆς διακαινησίμου ψάλλεται εἰς τὸν ὁρθρον τὸ Ἀνάστηθι Κύριε καὶ τὰ ἑωθινὰ εὐαγγέλια κατὰ τάξιν.

Dmitrievskij who cites this passage (*Opisanie, Typica I*, p. CXIX, note one) says that the same remark is to be found in Vat Barb Gr 350 (III 102) of 1205 A. D. on folio 125. The reference to Constantinople is surprising, for we have no other clearly Constantinopolitan document which testifies to this practice. Notice that nothing is said of the place in the office where the reading occurred. As regards Palestine, there is only one Pro-

the reading. They probably date from a later period, there being no trace of them in ARM or GEORG. They did not find their way into the later Sabba Typicon.

3) *Weekdays of Holy Week*. The Gospel readings here form part of a special structure proper to this week. For one thing, they occur in connection with other Scriptural readings (Monday through Thursday: Old Testament; Friday: both Old and New Testament). The history of their development¹⁵² shows that the oldest of them is the reading on Holy Saturday morning which narrates the visit of the High Priests and Pharisees to Pilate asking that a guard be set on the tomb. This being used on Saturday morning answers to the Jerusalem practice of providing readings apt for the place and time. The readings on the other weekdays, while they date back (in part, at least) only to GEORG, are likewise of Jerusalem origin, as the Typicon of Hagia Sophia has neither Old Testament nor Gospel readings on Monday through Friday of Holy Week. The case of Holy Saturday is quite different. Here the influence of SOPH's post-Orthros reading service is extremely clear: the older OT readings from Wisdom and Isaiah have been dropped in favor of those imported from Constantinople, and the two series of readings and chants follow one another very closely. The Gospels of Good Friday Orthros are even more obviously part of a very special structure proper to the day and will not enter into our consideration, as their context is not of any help in clarifying the text under consideration.

These post-Orthros readings of Holy Week pertain obviously to a category of celebration different from that of the Resurrection Vigil. They are best described by Zerfass as "... Anhängsel an das Morgenoffizium ... analog den Vesperanhängen Egerias" ¹⁵³. Nonetheless, despite the diversity of structure, the Saturday readings after the Doxology are of interest to us in that they present two elements found in the context of the Gospel readings at Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday Orthros; the "Epakousta" and the Stichera after the Gospel. As was pointed out above, the influence of the Typicon of Hagia Sophia on this Saturday morning reading service was very great. It is all the more interesting to note that

keimenon given for the entire week as opposed to HS 43 which has a separate one for each day. Perhaps this discrepancy is due to a lack of precision on the part of the Italo-Greek scribes rather than to the existence of two different stages in Jerusalem practice.

¹⁵² ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, pp. 87-89; 143-44.

¹⁵³ *Ibid.*, p. 89. The reference is to the additional material added after Orthros during Holy Week.

these two elements are not present in SOPH but represent a truly Jerusalem feature of the service.

Having outlined the structural differences between the Gospel services we have just considered, our main attention will now be given to a closer consideration of the two cases which the document presents of the Cathedral Vigil. It will be found, however, that reference to the other services is sometimes helpful in elucidating one or other point. Of the two cases of the Cathedral Vigil, the Palm Sunday version seems to represent the more normal form of the celebration according to the practice of the Jerusalem church at the time HS 43 was elaborated. The position, for instance, is basically the same as that of the Sabba Typicon in this sense that it occurs between the nocturnal and morning sections of Orthros. We should not be misled by the fact that it occurs in between the sixth and ninth Odes of the Canon. The important point is that Ps 50, which according to a venerable tradition begins the morning office, occurs immediately after the Cathedral Vigil. The practice of dividing the Canon between the nocturnal and morning sections of the office with Ps 50 after the sixth Ode was the normal practice in the Studite tradition, at least on days with no stichology ¹⁵⁴.

Furthermore, the overall structure of Orthros on Palm Sunday follows the normal pattern uninterrupted by any function proper to the day. It is not until the Great Doxology that we find anything of the sort. This Doxology, however, is used to accompany the procession which now takes place to the Mount of Olives for the blessing of the palms. Thus in the section which concerns us (immediately after the sixth Ode) there is no disturbance of what seems to be the usual order of ceremonies in favor of some special function. Even had the Gospel occurred after the Ainoi as on Easter Sunday, there would be no reason for transferring it back, as the procession to the Mount of Olives did not begin until the Doxology.

More important still, it represents a form of the Vigil even closer to the account of Egeria (XXIV,9-11) than does the Sabba version. In addition to the responsorial psalmody, Gospel reading, and chant after the Gospel, which it has in common with the Sabba version, the Palm Sunday account reproduces the following items which are also found in Egeria's account: the entrance of the bishop and clergy into the Anastasis and then into the tomb itself at the beginning of the service, the procession to Golgatha with chants

¹⁵⁴ Cf. p. 204, note 38.

after the reading of the Gospel, and the psalmody executed at Golgatha. The Synapte, which occurs at the beginning of the service, is very probably the *commemoratio omnium* which Egeria situates after the prayer following the last of the responsorial psalms, the transfer of the litany to the beginning of a service being a common practice of later Byzantine usage. The service, to be sure, has been set in the context of another celebration and does not have the independence of Egeria's weekly Vigil. Thus it is preceded by the sixth Ode of the Canon along with the Kontakion of Orthros and is terminated not by a final *oratio*, blessing and *missa* as in Egeria, but by a "παρευτίκα λιτή" (direct or immediate procession) back to the Anastasis after the visit to Calvary.

The Elements of the Cathedral Vigil

We now propose to consider each of the elements of the Cathedral Vigil as it appears on Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday: responsorial psalmody, other hymnic and prayer elements which occur before the reading of the Gospel in the normal Sabba version of the Vigil, the Gospel reading itself, and the hymnic elements after the Gospel.

1. *Responsorial Psalmody: The "Epakousta"*

The three responsorial psalms of Egeria seem to correspond to what HS 43 calls "τὰ ἐπακουστά". It will be well to pause for a bit on this term as it is not commonly found in the ordinary liturgical terminology of Palestine. A glance at the comparative table shows that it occurs not only at the Cathedral Vigil on Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday, but also on Holy Saturday and throughout Easter Week. It is clearly related to the verb, "ἐπακούειν". Erik Peterson¹⁵⁵ has shown that this verb is used in various Christian texts to signify "to respond". Thus it corresponds to this same meaning which the verb, "ὕπακούειν", can also have. In this latter case Mateos has pointed out that the term, "ὕπακοή", derived from it, originally referred to a poetic composition used as a refrain or response with a psalm. Its origins seem to be also Palestinian¹⁵⁶. "Ἐπακουστόν" would seem to be derived from

¹⁵⁵ PETERSON, *Note*, p. 131. In addition to a text from a papyrus published by S. BILABEL, *Griechische Papyri* (no further reference), Peterson presents two texts from the 10th or 11th century manuscript containing a *Life of Nicholas of Sinai*; cf. G. ANRICH, *Hagios Nikolaos* I 20,19; I 23,15. All three texts are from liturgical contexts.

¹⁵⁶ MATEOS, *La psalmodie variable*, pp. 120-21.

"ἐπακούειν" just as "ὕπακοή" is from "ὕπακούειν" albeit by a different morphological process¹⁵⁷. *De facto*, a consideration of the cases of its use in HS 43 shows that structurally speaking it has the form of responsorial psalmody.

The actual refrain is usually a psalm verse, in which case it is equivalent to a Prokeimenon (third on Palm Sunday; first and third on Easter Sunday; first, second and third of Holy Saturday; all those of Easter Week). In another case it is a psalm verse to which the single word "Christ" is added (second on Easter Sunday). Finally, it may be a psalm verse which has been expanded by a poetic composition adapting it to the feast being celebrated (first and second on Palm Sunday). Thus it may be described as a responsorial psalm (for which only one Stichos is indicated) whose refrain may be either a simple psalm verse, or one extended by a single word or even by a poetic composition. It will be noted that it corresponds in form to the *evangelica prokeimena* of GEORG. In the light of this it will be seen that despite the close linguistic relationship between the Hypacoe and the Epakousta, they are *de facto* somewhat different. Unlike the Epakousta which is a psalm verse (sometimes slightly extended by a poetic composition), the Hypacoe is always a poetic composition corresponding, rather, to the Constantinopolitan Troparion.

What number of these are to be understood by the expression, "τὰ ἐπακουστά", in the plural, which we find on Palm Sunday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday? The exact number is never given in direct relation to the word itself. *A priori*, we would expect them to be three in number in line with Egeria's three psalms and GEORG's three *evangelica prokeimena*. *De facto* there are reasons which favor this supposition.

On the weekdays of Easter Week there is clearly only one chant each day. A remark on Holy Saturday, however, indicated that the Epakousta are to be sung by three deacons. This probably indicates that there were three chants, each of which was sung by one deacon. Moreover, after the indication that the Epakousta are to be sung, three responsorial psalms follow in each case, and the first of these, coming after the heading "τὰ ἐπακουστά" may

¹⁵⁷ "Ἐπακουστόν" is a verbal adjective (here used substantively) derived from the verb, "ἐπακούειν", and has the meaning: "that which is to be responded". Thus it is more properly applicable to the refrain itself rather than to the whole complex of refrain and stichos, just as "προκείμενον" properly refers to that psalm verse which is singled out for use as a refrain and "written before" the rest of the psalm. "Ὑπακοή" is a noun derived from "ὕπακούειν" but by a different morphological process.

be said to be "entitled" as such. Of the others, on Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday we find a second heading "ἕτερον ἐπακουστόν" and this only in the case of the second of the psalms on each of these days. The third on Holy Saturday is entitled: "Τὸ αὐτὸ προκείμενον". This phrase (which makes clear the interchangeability of the words, "Prokeimenon" and "Epakouston") is to be translated simply, "the same refrain", inasmuch as this third Epakouston is textually the same as the second; only the Stichoi differ. The sudden use of the word Prokeimenon is strange, however. It was probably employed by the scribe because the third Epakouston corresponds to the usual fourth tone Prokeimenon of Sunday Orthros¹⁵⁸. In the other cases these chants are without

¹⁵⁸ This curious phenomenon of the same psalm being used twice in succession is to be explained by the fact that this entire post-Orthros service of Holy Saturday is a wholesale importation from Constantinople where it served as something of an aliturgical synaxis replacing the Liturgy, which was not celebrated on this day. HS 43, in adopting it to Jerusalem use, has retained two properly Palestinian elements, which, as a matter of fact, do not occur in the SOPH version (cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 83). It is precisely after the Epakousta that a link must be made to insert these into the SOPH structure. These have been fitted in not before the Gospel but before the Prokeimenon which precede the other readings. Thus the third Epakouston would be followed (theoretically) by this Prokeimenon, which in SOPH is Ps 43,27. Consequently, there seems to have been some telescoping, and the third Epakouston was made to coincide with the Prokeimenon before these readings despite the clumsy result that the same psalm is used twice in succession.

Perhaps we would do better to speak of the Constantinopolitan service being inserted into a pre-existing Jerusalem service, for ZERFASS has pointed out that the Gospel reading at Saturday Orthros seems to be the earliest of the Orthros Holy Week Gospels (cf. ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, p. 143), this going back as far as ARM. In this latter document (44) it is given last in a series of elements of the service at dawn, and the pericope is Mt 27, 62-66. Thus no indications of its context are given. By the time of GEORG, we have a fully developed context for this Gospel pericope, previous to the introduction of the SOPH elements. There are considerable differences between the various manuscripts, and this points precisely to the fact that these elements are not the inheritance of the older Jerusalem tradition represented by ARM. The most fully developed form of the rite is presented (with texts) by GEORG S's second part. (704-707, cf. also 168-173 for the other manuscripts).

After the Doxology:

Troparion

Hypacoe

kverexi et oratio at the altar

Wisdom 2, 12-13

Is 33, 2-10

oratio cum genuflexione

additional headings. It is to be noted that on the weekdays of Easter Week, there is only one Epakouston each day and in each case it is entitled as such. Surprisingly enough, the soloist singled out for the execution of this chant is not the chanter but a deacon. (The text does not indicate a soloist during the feria of Easter Week when there is only one Epakouston). In the case of Palm Sunday, the subject of the verb is not indicated in the sentence itself, but the subjects of the verbs in the preceding sentence are "οἱ διάκονοι" and "ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος" so the reference seems to be to them. On Holy Saturday they are assigned to three deacons. On Easter Sunday, the first two are sung by the archdeacon, whereas the last is assigned to the domesticos. This unusual situation finds an explanation in the earlier text of Egeria where these psalms are sung precisely by the clergy: the first by a priest, the second by a deacon, the third by some other cleric. While these distinctions have not been perfectly maintained in HS 43, nonetheless, these chants remain the work of the clergy in the person of the deacon.

The thematic content of this psalmody on Easter Sunday, during Easter Week, and on Holy Saturday is largely centered around the mystery of the Resurrection, many of the items consisting in one or other of the series of eight Sunday Orthros Resurrectional Prokeimena that precede the reading of the Gospel. Only the second one for Easter Sunday is not directly concerned with this theme. On Palm Sunday, the first two have refrains centered rather on the theme of Palm Sunday. The third (from

Ps 15, 10 Stich: *ibid.*, 1-3

kverexi

Mt 27, 62-66

unidentified "Sticheron"

Trisagion et aliud totum

dimittant populum

orationem faciunt

While the three Epakousta are not yet present, we do find a Hypacoe (or in the case of *Ka* and *L*, a Prokeimenon) before the first OT reading. Further, the Sticheron after the Gospel is already present, though it is unidentified.

It is obviously difficult, if not impossible, to come to some clear conclusion as to how closely the Epakousta and Sticheron after the Gospel were linked with Gospel readings even outside the context of the Cathedral Vigil at the time of HS 43. We simply do not have enough examples to work from. For the present we must limit ourselves to the affirmation that both Epakousta and Stichera after the Gospel (even on Holy Saturday at Orthros) are truly of Jerusalem origin and do not stem from Constantinople. Also they present at least an analogy with similar elements in HS 43's Cathedral Vigil as exemplified by Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday.

Ps 117), although it does not have explicit reference, does seem related to the theme of the Resurrection.

A comparison with the *evangelica prokeimena* of GEORG shows some interesting parallels. Here the first two are on the theme of the Resurrection: Ps 43,23 and Ps 101,14. The first of these is also used by HS 43 for Palm Sunday. The third one from Ps 150 naturally calls to mind the verses from this psalm sung before the Gospel at Sunday Orthros in the Sabba Typicon.

While these verses from Ps 150 do not occur in any of the cases we have studied in HS 43, nonetheless, there is an oblique reference to normal usage on Palm Sunday where the third Epakouston has as a heading: "Καὶ ἀντὶ τὸ Πᾶσα πνοὴ λέγεται Θεὸς κύριος καὶ ἐπέφανεν". Here we have an indication that the normal elements to be expected are precisely the verses from Ps 150. In the case of Holy Saturday, the third Epakouston has been complicated by the fact that it was made to coincide with the following Prokeimenon, as was explained above. On Easter Sunday, while the third Prokeimenon is from Ps 9, nonetheless it is preceded by a very curious indication of the manuscript: "Καὶ εὐθὺς ὑψη(λῇ) φωνῇ λέγει: "Ὅτι τὸ φῶς τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν." At first, one is tempted to see in this the *incipit* of some Ekphonesis which would be continued from memory, because as it stands the phrase is incomplete, having no verb, although the nouns are in the accusative. However, it seems strange that an Ekphonesis should be assigned to the archdeacon, who, we presume, is singing. A comparison with GEORG, however, shows that this phrase is also found there as the second half of the refrain of the third "*evangelii prokeimenon*" beginning precisely with the words, "Πᾶσα πνοὴ": "Omnis spiritus laudate Dominum quoniam lux est mundi, vita et resurrectio." While it is clear that the text is the same, the Greek does not have the verb *to be* but rather makes the nouns agree with *Dominum* placing them in the accusative case¹⁵⁹. In an case, we are dealing with a refrain¹⁶⁰.

¹⁵⁹ The original Greek was presumably "Πᾶσα πνοὴ αἰνεσάτω τὸν Κύριον ὅτι τὸ φῶς τῷ κόσμῳ etc."

¹⁶⁰ We find an interesting parallel for this use of the second half of a refrain after subsequent verses of a responsorial psalm in the Appendix of manuscript H of the Typicon of the Great Church. This section of the manuscript is clearly a product of Palestinian influence, inasmuch as we find here the eleven Resurrection Gospel pericopes for Orthros along with the Sabba series of Prokeimena in the eight modes that go along with them. Two other Prokeimena, however, bring the number of the collection up to ten, thus suggesting material proper to the capital itself. Furthermore, the last seven Prokeimena listed are so arranged that after the Stichos only

In view of these facts, we feel that Ps 150 was perhaps a fixed third Epakouston in the Cathedral Vigil of Jerusalem¹⁶¹. The curious appearance of its refrain on Easter Sunday where the third Epakouston is different seems to be one more indication of the fact that it was to be found usually in this place, its refrain appearing even when it has been replaced by another Epakouston with its own proper refrain.

In the case of Easter Week Orthros, there is only one Epakouston assigned and it is not specified by whom this is sung. The structure here is plainly a shortened imitation of Easter Sunday Orthros. As on Easter, it occurs after the Ainoi. The Gospel readings and the Troparia which follow them are taken from the repertory of the eleven Sunday Orthros Resurrection Gospels and the eleven Sunday Heothina Troparia with the Gospel and Troparion corresponding to one another each day. Χριστὸς ἀνέστη is sung three times in both cases at the beginning, but the Σήμερον σωτηρία is not mentioned on the weekdays nor is the Synapte. Furthermore, as has been pointed out, there is only one Epakouston during the week. Finally, no mention is made of a procession to Golgotha after the Gospel.

An interesting point in connection with the Epakousta indicated for these weekdays of Easter Week is the fact that on Monday, Tuesday, and Wednesday only the bare *incipit* of the refrain itself is given. No mention is made of the Stichos as though it would be well known which Epakouston was meant. Perhaps nothing more can be concluded from this than the fact that it was understood that the same psalm was to be used for the Stichoi, the *incipit* of the refrain having been indicated. On the other hand, it may indicate that a standard collection of these Epakousta existed to which one could refer simply by the refrain-*incipit*. A similar phenomenon is to be observed in connection with the Cathedral Vigil on Easter Sunday. The third Epakousta is simply indicated without title: "τὸ Ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου".

the last half of the verse is repeated. That this also is of Constantinopolitan origin is suggested by the fact that verse divisions in psalters of Constantinopolitan origin differ from those of Palestinian ones. In the former the verses are longer; thus it would be more logical to use only the last half of a given verse, when it was to be used as a sung refrain.

¹⁶¹ A glance at the table of Antiphons which replace the *psalmodia currens* at Orthros on various days throughout the year in Mess Gr 115 (cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. 328) shows that Ps 148 frequently occurs in the last place. Thus this document provides us with yet another example of the use of this psalm before the Gospel reading in a manner not unlike that of HS 43's Palm Sunday Orthros.

In this case, however, we are dealing with the fifth Sunday Orthros Resurrectional Prokeimenon which is found also in many manuscripts¹⁶².

Conclusions on the Epakousta

From the foregoing it seems legitimate to conclude that:

1) The Epakousta of HS 43 correspond to the responsorial psalms of Egeria's account of the Jerusalem Cathedral Vigil, these being in both cases

- a) of responsorial structure
- b) three in number
- c) executed not by the chanters but by other clergy
- d) placed before the Gospel reading

2) The term Epakousta refers to a refrain for responsorial psalmody which may be either:

- a) a simple psalm verse
- b) a psalm verse slightly adapted to Christian use by the addition, for instance, of the name, "Christ".
- c) a psalm verse expanded by a poetic composition adapting it to the feast being celebrated.

Thus structurally speaking, it corresponds to the Constantinopolitan Prokeimenon (although unlike the Prokeimenon it may be other than a simple psalm verse). The Palestinian Hypacoe, though related linguistically to the Epakousta, corresponds rather to Constantinople's Troparion.

Further, there seems to be some probability that the third Epakousta was normally from Ps 150. We find it in this position in GEORG S on Easter Sunday, and in HS 43 on Palm Sunday (which is the most truly representative version of the weekly shape of this service). Even on Easter Sunday, when the psalm is not used, its usual refrain is, nonetheless, sung. This usage of Ps 150 seems to have found an echo in the Typicon of San Salvatore on certain feast days.

It is to be regretted that HS 43 has preserved for us only part of the liturgical year. A more complete Typicon would, no doubt, make the work of reconstruction much easier. Nonetheless, we believe that it provides us with the general outlines of the nature of the Epakousta.

¹⁶² Cf. MATEOS, *Quelques problèmes*, pp. 214-15, who cites Sinai 150, Ath 2622 and 2409 (of Constantinopolitan origin, which have it after the Gospel), Sinai 973, and Lavra 189.

Before we leave the question of the responsorial psalmody preceding the reading of the Gospel, we must consider their relationship to the "Polyeleos" psalms. The question of the identification of the three responsorial psalms of Egeria as they occur in the various Byzantine traditions is not an easy one. One thing is clear: unanimity is not to be found among the various documents. In his early article on Byzantine Orthros, Mateos¹⁶³ had seen in the three psalms 134, 135, 136, which occur during Lent, the three psalms of Egeria. This practice, however, does not seem to have been the more primitive one. In the Typicon of San Salvatore we find, however, that Ps 135 was used as the third psalm on Sundays¹⁶⁴. It further occurs frequently on feasts as one of these three psalms. Thus, it, at least, can lay claim to being one of the responsorial psalms in question. The use of Pss 134 and 136 during Lent is probably due to their proximity to Ps 135, which would have been, in these documents, primitive.

In any case, we do not find any of these psalms in connection with the Gospel readings in HS 43. One might think that as the choice was made from other psalms, Ps 135 would be completely absent. To our surprise, however, we find that on Palm Sunday Ps 135 is found in the context of the nocturnal psalmody performed by the Spoudaioi monks in the basilica before the arrival of the patriarch. Thus, in this document, at least, its use in the third Stichology is properly monastic in function¹⁶⁵.

¹⁶³ MATEOS, *Quelques problèmes*, pp. 203-205.

¹⁶⁴ ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. 328. The first two were Pss 115 and 116 (counted as one psalm), and 117.

¹⁶⁵ The structure of the first part of the service is as follows:

1st section of the psalter (Ps. 9...)

Kathisma

reading on the theme of Palm Sunday

2nd section of the psalter (Ps. 17...)

Kathisma

reading

Polyeleos (Ps 135)

Kathisma

reading

Amomos (Ps 118) with Troparia

Kathisma

Here the patriarch enters and the Canon is begun. The monks leave the church and return to their monastery. They then "... ψάλλουν ἐκεῖ τὸν κανόνα καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν ἀκολουθίαν καὶ ἀπολύ(ονται), καθὼς ἐστὶν ὁ τύπος αὐτῶν." (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 7.) Thus they, too, seem to take up the office at the Canon once they return, and in the supposition that their "τύπος" also had the Gospel reading, it also would have been separated from the Polyeleos. Finally, Sin 973 (1153 A.D.) cited

2. Other Hymnic and Prayer Elements Before The Gospel

Of the other elements that are found in Mateos' schema for the Byzantine Cathedral Vigil¹⁶⁶, the Hypacoe is placed on both of these Sundays after the third Ode of the Canon, as is the case today on feast days that occur during the week. The Anabathmoi do not exist at all on these two Sundays. Thus, the Polyeleos, the Hypacoe, and the Anabathmoi do not figure as part of the Cathedral Vigil on either of the two Sundays which this Typicon describes.

The "Σήμερον σωτηρία" of Sunday Orthros, which Mateos shows to be of Constantinopolitan Cathedral origin¹⁶⁷, occurs on Easter Sunday immediately before the Synapte which precedes the Epakousta. On Palm Sunday it is not mentioned. Possibly the special case of the procession to the Mount of Olives, which follows Orthros, has modified the normal structure.

No doubt, the element of Egeria's description that has been least well preserved by the later documents is that of the prayers. As we saw, she speaks of *oratio* after each of the three responsorial psalms in addition to a *commemoratio omnium* after the third of these *orationes*. Finally after the psalmody in Golgotha, there is another *oratio*. Even in GEORG which is usually very apt to indicate a *kverexi et oratio*, we find only an "*orationem facite*" after the Gospel, which apparently corresponds to Egeria's *oratio* after the psalmody in Golgotha. HS 43 has a Synapte on Palm Sunday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday immediately before the Epakousta. This Synapte probably corresponds to the *commemoratio omnium* which in Egeria occurs after the *oratio* following the last of the responsorial psalms. The change of place need not surprise us. It is typical of later Palestinian Byzantine practice to transfer the Synapte from its original place to a position, near the beginning of an office, as at Vespers, Orthros, and, indeed, the Liturgy itself.

The incensation of the myrophoroi on Easter Sunday during the Gospel and afterwards within the tomb itself may very well be related to Egeria's "thiamataria inferuntur intro spelunca Anastasis."

by DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie, Typica* III, 88-89, similarly separates the Polyeleos from the reading of the Gospel with its Prokeimenon.

¹⁶⁶ MATEOS, *Quelques problèmes*, p. 202.

¹⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 215.

3. The Gospel Reading

The Gospel pericopes in HS 43's description of Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday and throughout Easter Week are all related to the theme of the Resurrection. They all correspond to one or other of the series of eleven Resurrection Gospels for Sunday Orthros. The pericope for Easter Sunday is Mk 16,1-8 and not Jn 20,1-18 as in GEORG. The Palm Sunday account has an interesting note pointing out that there is no Sunday on which the Resurrection Gospel may be omitted in the Anastasis. This testifies to the importance of this reading at Orthros and explains why even on Easter Sunday it is not omitted. This is so even though the special second Liturgy in the Anastasis seems to have been designed primitively to substitute for the Cathedral Vigil on that day. The case of Holy Saturday, where the Gospel relates the visit of the Pharisees and High Priests to Pilate, is obviously a different type of structure, as has already been pointed out.

It is curious to note that documents have nothing to say about the Gospel being read by the patriarch, as we would expect in line with Egeria's account (XXIV,10). On Palm Sunday there is no specific mention of who it is who reads the Gospel, but perhaps we are to interpret this silence as indicating that the usual practice is to be followed. This probably was for the patriarch to read the Gospel, but we are unable to verify this in a Typicon which treats of only two Sundays. In any case, on Easter Sunday itself the text is explicit in assigning the Gospel to the deacon. It adds, however, that he reads it "εις την πόλιν του Αγίου Τάφου". This tallies well with Egeria who says that the bishop "accedet ad hostium et leget..." Perhaps the reading of the Gospel here has fallen to the deacon because at the second Liturgy in the Anastasis (which, as we have pointed out, corresponds to the *primitive* Cathedral Vigil of Easter) it was precisely the patriarch who read the Gospel. This reading by the patriarch having been preserved, perhaps in the case of this "second" Vigil the reading was assigned to the deacon. It is difficult, however, to see why this should be. If the process of evolution was precisely in the direction of a standardization of ordinary weekly practice even on Easter Sunday, we would expect that the Gospel would be assigned to the patriarch as usual.

4. Hymnic Elements after the Reading

A song element follows the Gospel in all the cases where it occurs at Orthros. These are called *Troparia* on Palm Sunday

and Easter Sunday, *Stichera* on Holy Saturday (where *de facto* there are several sung with psalm verses) and during Easter Week either *Troparia* or "στυχηρόν εἰς Δόξα" or "στυχηρόν" or they simply have no title at all.

From Chart B it will be seen that on Easter Sunday and throughout Easter Week these are chosen from among the eleven Hoethina *Troparia* of Sunday Orthros. Thus we find in the same context two elements which, although separated in the current Byzantine Orthros, are clearly related to one another, both, according to thematic content, as well as the special cycle of eleven items.

The special Palm Sunday Troparion which is found on this day after the Gospel is said to replace the "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ" which presumably was a somewhat fixed item after the Gospel as it is today. It is interesting to note the presence of a series of *Stichera* with psalm verses after the Gospel on Holy Saturday, although as we have pointed out, we are dealing here with a different liturgical structure¹⁶⁸.

Following the Troparion on Palm Sunday, we find a procession to Calvary which is a strict parallel, once again, to Egeria's account. In both cases we find:

Procession to Calvary with chants
Execution of one psalm at the cross

The *oratio*, blessing, and *missa* of Egeria are omitted by HS 43, but the reason for this, as we have shown, is the fact that the service is no longer independent as in Egeria but is set in the context of a Sabba-type Orthros. The clergy consequently return to the Anastasis immediately to finish the Canon which has been interrupted.

This Palm Sunday account of the procession to Calvary provides the clearest explanation of the function of the chant found after the Gospel in the various cases we have studied. Here it clearly serves the purpose of a processional. While the other cases do not *de facto* have a procession after the Gospel, the presence of the chant is very probably due to the imitation of an earlier structure (still preserved by the Palm Sunday Vigil) where the chant was still functional as processional. On Palm Sunday there

¹⁶⁸ These *Stichera* seem to pertain to a later stratum. The *Stichoi* are from two different psalms. Three of the *Stichera* are currently used at Holy Saturday Vespers with Ps 140 and are found under various headings according to the different manuscript traditions, as we shall see later.

seems to be a doubling of this song-element in the Troparion and Sticheron which we find there.

One wonders if the kiss of peace which follows the reading of the Pseudo-Chrysostom homily was not originally linked with the reading of the Gospel. In Sin 150, which has the Gospel after the Doxology of Easter Orthros, the reading of the pericope is followed by the kiss of peace during which the priest holds the Gospel. This probably points to a veneration of the Gospel itself. Thus we would have a link with current practice according to which the faithful go to venerate the Gospel book after the Orthros Gospel reading on Sundays and feasts.

This comparison between the Gospel reading and its immediate context on Palm Sunday and Easter Sunday has shown that the essential elements of the Cathedral Vigil are present on both occasions. Furthermore, a comparison between the beginning of Orthros itself on Easter is enlightening. In both cases we find:

- 1) a procession to the Anastasis of patriarch and clergy
- 2) with the chant of Ps 117
- 3) an entrance into the church at a verse of the psalm which refers to πόλη (Palm Sunday: v. 20; Easter: v. 19)
- 4) followed immediately by the entrance of the patriarch into the taphos
 - a) accompanied by bishops and priests on Palm Sunday
 - b) accompanied by the archdeacon alone on Easter

A further interesting observation is that on both of these Sundays it is precisely before the Canon that the patriarch comes down with his clergy to participate in the Orthros section of the Agrypnia. In the case of Palm Sunday, he goes first to the martyrion where the Spoudaioi monks are chanting the first part of Orthros. He arrives in time for the Canon. On Easter Sunday he goes directly to the Anastasis where, after the solemn entrance, the first item of the celebration is once again the Canon.

We feel that these two considerations are sufficient to establish the fact of the identity between these two patriarchal entrances. In the case of Palm Sunday, this occurs in the course of a normal Orthros celebration, whereas on Easter itself the overall structure into which this entrance is fitted is unique.

Conclusions on The Cathedral Vigil

Our study has shown that during the first period of the history of Jerusalem's liturgy, the Cathedral Vigil was probably not cele-

brated on Easter Sunday. This was because the second Liturgy of the Paschal Vigil itself seems to have replaced it, fulfilling as it did the same function of celebrating the mystery of the Resurrection in the place where it occurred. This praxis corresponds to the time of Egeria and of the Armenian Lectionary as represented by codices *J*, *P*, and *Er*. By the time of ARM *B*, the procession to the Anastasis and a reading of the Gospel still took place, yet the celebration of the Liturgy seems to have dropped out.

The second stage of this development as represented by the Georgian Lectionary consisted in the introduction of the normal Sunday Cathedral Vigil on Easter itself. Furthermore, we no longer find any mention of the second Liturgy of the Paschal Vigil, or even of a Gospel reading as in ARM *B*.

Finally with HS 43 we find not only the celebration of the weekly Cathedral Vigil in the course of Easter Orthros but also the second Liturgy at the end of the Paschal Vigil, as was the case in the earlier documents.

What conclusions may we draw from the facts presented in these documents?

1) One thing which seems clear is that the celebration of the Cathedral Vigil on Easter Sunday in the Jerusalem Church is an innovation, which we find for the first time in GEORG and which was maintained throughout the period represented by HS 43.

2) What is less clear is the exact history of the second Vigil Liturgy. If we consider only Egeria, ARM, and GEORG, we would be tempted to see a gradual evolution entailing the eventual replacement of the second Liturgy by a normal Sunday morning Cathedral Vigil. Thus:

Egeria, ARM <i>J</i> , <i>P</i> , <i>Er</i>	second Liturgy in Anastasis no Cathedral Vigil
ARM <i>B</i>	no second Liturgy but only Gospel reading in Anastasis no Cathedral Vigil
GEORG	no second Liturgy or reading in Anastasis Cathedral Vigil on Sunday morning

There are, however, serious reasons for doubting that this truly constituted the evolution of the practice of Jerusalem itself. We have the witness of HS 43 which shows that the introduction of the Cathedral Vigil on Easter Sunday morning did not bring

about the suppression of the second Liturgy of the Paschal Vigil. Nor is there any reason to believe that it was reintroduced by HS 43 after a period of hypothetical suppression corresponding to the time of ARM *B* and GEORG. The ceremony in question is one which is intimately linked with the Jerusalem Church itself and could not have been introduced from other sources, such as the Sabba Typicon and the Typicon of The Great Church. Neither of these documents make provisions for a second Vigil Liturgy. This leads us to question the authenticity of the accounts of ARM *B* and GEORG.

It must never be lost sight of that these documents were intimately linked up with the national Churches which produced them. While they represent a great measure of fidelity to true Jerusalem practice, they also make considerable alterations for use in the homeland. We have already seen this operative in the case of the Paschal Vigil where GEORG provides for the celebration in one church as opposed to the true practice of Jerusalem which used both Anastasis and basilica. The case in question is similar. The celebration of the second Liturgy is closely linked with the fact that it takes place in the very place where Christ arose. Since this was absent in the countries where these Lectionaries were intended for use, we can understand why there is hesitation about adopting the usage, resulting either in a simplification (ARM *B*) or a total suppression of the item (GEORG). It is interesting to note that the redactor of GEORG seems to have been aware of the celebration of the second Liturgy or at least of a Gospel reading at this point, for in suppressing this part of the service, he has relocated the ancient Gospel pericope of ARM at the Cathedral Vigil. HS 43, however, which has preserved the second Liturgy with the ancient pericope, has Mk 16,1-18 for its Cathedral Vigil. The reason for this choice seems to be that, inasmuch as the ancient Jerusalem pericope for the main Liturgy of the Paschal Vigil was lost when the Constantinopolitan cursus of readings was adopted, the ancient reading was placed at the Cathedral Vigil. Both of these cases seem to witness to the fact that there was no traditional Gospel pericope for the Cathedral Vigil on Easter, a point which reinforces our conclusion that such a Vigil was not celebrated at the time of Egeria and ARM.

Thus the process of evolution within the Jerusalem Church itself most probably consisted in the eventual introduction of the weekly Cathedral Vigil even on Easter Sunday without, however, suppressing the primitive second Liturgy of the Paschal Vigil, which was originally intended to replace the weekly one on this day.

2. Orthros

The Ensemble of The Documents

As we have already pointed out, the earlier documents have nothing to say about morning prayer in the strict sense. Egeria simply refers to a morning *missa* or service which certainly included the Eucharistic celebration, but whether or not it was preceded by a type of Orthros depends on the interpretation of her description of normal Sunday practice¹⁶⁹. ARM simply presents the propers for the morning Liturgy. For GEORG, moreover, "matutinum" is coterminous with the Cathedral Vigil. HS 43 alone presents a fuller Orthros service in the course of which there appears its Cathedral Vigil.

HS 43

The structure of Orthros in this document is as follows:

- Procession from Patriarchate to Royal Door of the Anastasis
- Initial Blessing "Δόξα τῇ Ἀγίᾳ", Troparion by patriarch, psalm verses with "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη"
- Entrance into the Anastasis with Ps 117,19
- Visit of patriarch and archdeacon to interior of tomb; greeting of myrophoroi as he emerges
- Canon with Hypakoe after third Ode, Kontakion after sixth, and Agios Kyrios and Exapostelaron after ninth
- Ainoi with Anastasima Stichera (two other sets of Stichera are provided)
- Cathedral Vigil proper
- Reading of Homily of Pseudo-Chrysostom in Greek and Arabic
- Kiss of peace¹⁷⁰
- Ektenes, prayer, and Apolysis

¹⁶⁹ Cf. p. 73, note 145.

¹⁷⁰ The kiss of peace after Orthros represents an early tradition of the monastery of Sabba, as represented by GEORG SABBA. Daniel refers to it also in the celebration of Orthros at which he assisted in the metokhion of these monks in Jerusalem. Cf. KHITROWO, *Vie et Pelerinage*, p. 81.

A comparison with Easter Orthros according to the Sabba Typicon shows that the two services are very close in structure, save for the absence in Sabba of the Cathedral Vigil elements and certain other items closely linked with the celebration in the sacred buildings at Jerusalem. These latter consist in the following points.

1) Preceding Orthros there is a procession from the secreton of the patriarchate to the narthex of the church with lit candles to the chant of the Sticheron, "Ὁ ἄγγελός σου..." The Easter Kontakion, "Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ" is also sung. The Sticheron had been used as the entrance chant for both Easter Liturgies.

2) After the entrance into the church before the Canon is sung, the patriarch immediately goes into the tomb with the archdeacon; the myrophoroi wait outside. As he emerges he greets the myrophoroi with the salutation: "Χαίρετε. Χριστὸς ἀνέστη." The myrophoroi fall down at his feet, then rising, incense him and "πολυχρονίζουσιν αὐτόν". The Canon is then begun. This brief ceremony is no doubt inspired, as Dmitrievskij has suggested¹⁷¹, by Mt 28,9: "And behold, Jesus met them and said, 'Hail.' And they came up and took hold of his feet and worshipped him", and possibly *ibid.*, 6: "He is risen, as he said".

3) The reading of the Homily of Pseudo-Chrysostom in both Greek and Arabic. Dmitrievskij¹⁷² points out the connection of this with the early practice described by Egeria of translating readings and homilies into Syriac for those who do not understand Greek. (XLVII,3,4).

HS 43 and Sabba-type Orthros

Notwithstanding the presence of these items and of the Cathedral Vigil in HS 43, the monastic influence of Sabba is clearly present in the Canon and other poetic material which was unknown to the earlier Jerusalem tradition. Yet we can hardly speak of a normal monastic Orthros, inasmuch as several important items are missing:

- 1) the entire section of nocturnal psalmody
- 2) from the properly morning section,
 - a) Ps 50
 - b) Great Doxology

Furthermore, the Cathedral Vigil section is out of its normal place, which, as we have seen, is after the sixth Ode of the Canon,

¹⁷¹ *Ibid.*, p. 414.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, pp. 415-416.

as on Palm Sunday. Practically speaking, the only elements present from this service are the Canon with its poetic adjuncts and the Ainoi.

The absence of the nocturnal psalmody need not cause us great surprise. We might assume that on this day the Orthros service would have preserved a primitive form more in keeping with its name of morning prayer, thus excluding elements pertaining to the monastic Vigil. This would be in line with the principle of liturgical development that certain feast days of venerable origin tend to preserve more archaic elements than do the normal structures of daily celebration. One might also imagine that the nocturnal psalmody would have been performed by the Spoudaioi monks prior to the arrival of the patriarch, although HS 43 specifies this when it does occur¹⁷³.

The Great Doxology, as we know, is closely linked with the celebration of the Liturgy, which in current Greek practice usually follows it almost immediately. The fact that the Liturgy does not take place at this time on Easter Sunday might provide an explanation for the omission of the Doxology. A consideration, however, of Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday, Friday, and Saturday of Holy Week shows that in HS 43 the Great Doxology and the Liturgy are *de facto* not necessarily linked together, the Great Doxology occurring even when no Liturgy follows immediately.

In attempting to clarify the curious structure of this service, we must ask ourselves what office served as the point of departure for its elaboration. We have already spoken of the thesis of Zeffass, which affirms that it is typical of this document to incorporate ancient services of unusual structure into one of the regular offices roughly corresponding to the time of day of the original service. In our own study of the document, we have had occasion to see this at work in an eminent way in the fitting of the ancient Paschal Vigil into that of ordinary Saturday evening Vespers. This office was the structural point of departure. The fidelity with which its structure was respected is very great. Not only are the poetic compositions of the Octoechos used for the Stichera, but the Vesper service is concluded after the OT readings in a way unique among similar documents of Sabba influence. This was accomplished further, at the cost of a duplication of the Lucernarium. Nothing, therefore, of the typical Vesper service is omitted.

Furthermore, when the document faces the problem of incorporating other ancient offices into the schema of an Orthros cele-

¹⁷³ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 3.

bration, the essential lines of this typical morning prayer structure are respected. Thus, for example, when the ancient service of Gospel readings of the Passion is incorporated into the context of Good Friday Orthros, we find both Ps 50 and the Great Doxology¹⁷⁴.

In the light of these facts, then, it seems difficult to consider Orthros as the point of departure for the elaboration of what is called on Holy Saturday "Orthros." Had this been the case, we would expect to find a similar respect for the usual structure, as in the case of the Paschal Vigil and Orthros of Holy Friday.

We need not look far, however, for the structure which *did* serve as the point of departure for the elaboration of this Office. If the structure of ordinary Orthros is far from perfectly realized in this service, that of the weekly Cathedral Vigil is present in all its essential lines. From a historical point of view, we know that the Cathedral Vigil was *de facto* celebrated on Easter morning, at least from the time of the Georgian Lectionary. This puts us sometime after 786 A.D. In this document, however, there is still no trace of the Canon or the Ainoi. Thus we have a concrete point of departure for our considerations of the shape the service had at the time of HS 43. The earlier form of the service consisted solely of the Cathedral Vigil. The other items from Orthros were added afterwards.

The Introduction of the Monastic Elements

As regards the Canon, the study of the Palm Sunday Cathedral Vigil shows that the entrance of the patriarch for this celebration is placed before the Canon in such a way that he assists at this also. Thus in the measure that Palm Sunday constitutes a fairly representative version of the weekly Cathedral Vigil, it is possible to affirm that by this time the Canon was linked with the Vigil in the sense that it formed part of that section of the service executed by the patriarchal clergy and presided over by the patriarch himself, as distinguished from that part performed by the Spoudaioi monks.

The question of the Ainoi is more difficult. It is to be noted, however, that there are three collections of Stichera provided for use in conjunction with these psalms: the first consisting of four of the usual first tone Anastasima that we find in the later Sabba tradition; the second of three first tone pieces; and finally the third,

¹⁷⁴ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, pp. 137, 144.

of four first tone plagal pieces for which psalm verses are provided despite the heading, "Ἑτέρα στιχηρὰ εἰς τοὺς αἶνους". We are perhaps to see in this phenomenon an indication of the fact that the Stichera are here considered more important than the Ainoi which they accompany. *De facto* in the third and fourth parts of our study, we discuss certain manuscripts of both earlier and later monastic tradition which omit the Ainoi. (e.g. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 of the Studite tradition) Despite the fact that the Ainoi are not sung according to these codices, there are, nonetheless, several Stichera sung at this point with appropriate psalm verses. Furthermore, HS 15 of the 13th century, a manuscript of the same collection as HS 43, likewise explicitly says that the Ainoi are to be omitted, although the Anastasima Stichera are sung all the same¹⁷⁵.

Paradoxically, the final version of the Sabba Typicon which passed into general use in the Orthodox churches did not preserve the Cathedral Vigil elements in the course of its Easter Orthros, but manuscripts are not wanting in which we have clear traces of the influence of this Jerusalem Easter Cathedral Vigil¹⁷⁶. This shows that HS 43 is not simply an isolated document in which these elements are present, but rather a faithful witness to a traditional (at least from the time of GEORG) liturgical structure for Easter day.

Thus we believe that the point of departure for the elaboration of the office, which HS 43 calls Orthros on Easter Sunday, is not the monastic service of Orthros but rather the Sunday Cathedral

¹⁷⁵ Cf. p. 242.

¹⁷⁶ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 415 cites the following two examples. The first is Sinai 150 (of the 9th-10th century); cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie Typica I*, 173-74. The second is Simonopetras 82 (of the 13th century), f. 363:

Sinai 150

Μετὰ δὲ τὸ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις Θεῷ. Καὶ μετὰ τὸ "Ἄγιος ὁ Θεός, λέγεται εἰσοδικὸν τροπάριον ἦχος γ'. Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ. Προκείμενον· Ἀνάστηθι Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου. Στίχος· Ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ Κύριε. — Τὸ εὐαγγέλιον ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Μάρκον, κεφάλαιον σ' Διαγενομένου τοῦ σαββάτου... Καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα ἵσταται ὁ ἱερεὺς, βαστάζων τὸ εὐαγγέλιον, καὶ ἀρχεται ἀσπάζεσθαι τὸν λαὸν λέγων Χριστὸς ἀνέστη. καὶ τροπάριον. Ἐυφρανέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ... Αἱ μυροφόραι γυναῖκες... Καὶ μετὰ τὸ ἀσπάζεσθαι πᾶς ὁ λαὸς (;) ἀλλήλους, ὁ ἱερεὺς τὴν ἐκτενὴν (καὶ) ἀπολύει.

Simonopetras 82

Μετὰ τὰ στιχηρὰ (Αἶνοι) καὶ τὸ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, προκείμενον ἦχος βαρύς· Ἀνάστηθι, Κύριε ὁ Θεός μου, στίχος· Ἐξομολογήσομαι σοὶ, Κύριε. Εὐαγγέλιον κατὰ Μάρκον· Ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς πρῶτῃ πρώτῃ σαββάτου...

Cf. p. 77, note 151.

Vigil, which since the end of the eighth century, at least, had been celebrated on Easter morning in Jerusalem. Monastic elements were indeed introduced, thanks to the presence of the Spoudaioi monks in the services of the shrines, but they were above all poetic compositions.

3. Morning Liturgy

The Early Documents

Egeria does not provide any details about the celebration of the morning Liturgy, although it is clear enough that there was such a celebration, from her use of the expression, "proceditur". Bastiaensen goes to great length to show that this term is used in connection with "... offices liturgiques solennisés, où l'on célébrait l'eucharistie." ¹⁷⁷

ARM indicates that the morning Liturgy is celebrated at dawn in the martyrion and simply gives the "canon" of its proper parts (45). The opening psalm, it will be noted, is the same as at the Vigil Liturgy.

GEORG presents a more elaborate structure for its morning Liturgy than it does for its Vigil Liturgy. According to *L* this takes place in the *catholica*, whereas *S* situates it in the Anastasis. Among the propers, we find the *Unigenitus filius et Verbum* (Ὁ μονογενής). There are also the three OT readings in *L* (*S* omits the first of these). The Apostle is the same as that of ARM but shorter by six verses. The Book of Acts begun at this service will continue throughout Paschaltide in accordance with an ancient tradition found in many parts of the Christian world¹⁷⁸. The Gospel is also the same as in ARM, although once again GEORG is shorter by six verses. In the other chants *S* often gives alternatives. In addition to the Prokeimenon, the Alleluia, the *cantus manuum lotionis*, the *cantus sanctificationum* and the *communio*, *S* adds *Completiones*, one of which is non-scriptural, while the other seems to be Ps 64,5.

A comparison between ARM and GEORG thus shows that while GEORG has preserved the Apostle and Gospel pericopes of ARM, three OT readings have been added and the initial psalm

¹⁷⁷ BASTIAENSEN, *Observations*, p. 26.

¹⁷⁸ VAN DE PAVERD, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 115, note 3.

and the Alleluia verses are taken from different psalms in the two documents. GEORG further adds other hymnic items after the Gospel.

HS 43

HS 43's morning Liturgy celebrated in the Anastasis bears so much resemblance to that of Sabba that we will treat this in the fourth Section when we consider this tradition. Suffice it for the present to point out that the Constantinople influence is seen in the supplanting of the ancient Jerusalem Gospel pericope (Mk 16,1-8) by that of SOPH (Jn 1,1-17). The manner of the reading of the Gospel also seems borrowed from Constantinople. The text is read both by the patriarch from his throne and by the deacon from the ambo, in such a way that "... what the patriarch reads, the archdeacon also reads from the ambo until the end of the Gospel."¹⁷⁹ We will shortly find the same practice described in the Typicon of Hagia Sophia. In this case, the Gospel pericope is first read in Latin by a deacon, then in Greek by the patriarch from the throne and by another deacon from the ambo¹⁸⁰. The Apostle was the same according to both the Constantinopolitan and Jerusalem traditions. The hymnic material is for the most part borrowed from the Great Church. Another item of interest here is the procession of the clergy into the taphos to venerate it after the Opisthambonos¹⁸¹. It is accompanied by the chant of the Easter Kontakion. The same ceremony was described by Daniel, but by his time it had been transferred to a position after Orthros, which was celebrated in the metochion of the Sabba monks:

... après avoir chanté les matines, nous être embrassés l'hégoumène, les moines et nous, et après l'apolyxis, vers la première heure du jour, nous nous acheminâmes, l'hégoumène, la croix en main, et tous les moines, vers le Saint Sepulchre en chantant le

¹⁷⁹ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 201; cf. also KNIAZEFF, *La lecture*, p. 214, note 2, who mentions a 9th century evangeliary of Sinai which has Mt 28 for the Gospel at the day Liturgy instead of Jn 1. This he apparently takes from ARCHIMANDRITE KIPRIAN, *Eukharistia*, p. 183. Neither one gives the number of the manuscript to which he refers.

¹⁸⁰ MATEOS, *Le Typicon II*, 94-97.

¹⁸¹ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, pp. 104-105. In the text it is said simply that the clergy enter the tomb. On Palm Sunday (PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, p. 26) after the Liturgy there is another such procession followed by the veneration of the clergy, and here it is said: "... ποιοῦμεν δὲ οὕτω πάλιν τῇ ἁγίᾳ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ Πάσχα καθότι καὶ σήμερον".

Kontakion "Immortel, Tu as daigné descendre dans la tombe!" (They enter the tomb in order to venerate it; then coming out) "... étant entrés dans le grand autel et y ayant embrassé les orthodoxes et après l'apolyxis nous sortîmes tous, l'hégoumène et les moines, du temple de la sainte Résurrection, et rentrâmes dans notre couvent pour nous y reposer jusqu'à la messe"¹⁸².

CONCLUSIONS

The relative abundance of documents witnessing to the various stages of the Jerusalem liturgy has enabled us to study the development of the Easter services over a considerable span of time in the history of this important center of Christendom. From the fifth century text of Egeria through the Typicon of the Anastasis of 1122 A. D., the structural changes in this liturgy were considerable.

Paschal Vigil

Our study has shown that the point of departure for the historical development of this office was the relatively simple service, about which Egeria has little to say. ARM, however, which represents a state of affairs around fifty years later, provides a clear outline:

Lucernarium

psalm
lighting of lamp(s)

Vigil

introductory psalm
ten OT readings during which baptism is administered
entrance of bishop with newly-baptized
Liturgy
second Liturgy in the Anastasis

The later development was to be determined in large measure by the preponderance of two influences: that of the monks resident in the holy city, who had an important role in the service of the shrines, and that of the Typicon of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople.

¹⁸² KHITROWO, *Vie et Pèlerinage*, p. 81. According to DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, pp. 104-105 this would be the only element of the earlier tradition of HS 43, which remains of the celebration on Easter morning in the Anastasis.

The main dynamic principle that shaped the evolution determining the overall shape of the service was the leveling process studied by Zerfass, according to which services whose structure departed from ordinary ones were incorporated into the more normal daily services. The first witness which we found to this was GEORG, which, although it retained the primitive Lucernarium of the Vigil and even extended it, nonetheless included in the celebration Lucernarium elements from daily Vespers (Ps 140 with refrain and *Phos hilaron*). With HS 43 this evolution had come to its completion. The elements of both ancient Lucernarium and Vigil have been perfectly fitted into the scheme of festal Vespers even to the point of including the section from the *Kataxioson* through the concluding prayer, which ordinarily is omitted when there is a Liturgy after Vespers.

As regards the individual sections of the service, we find that in the case of the Lucernarium the important stages along the way of evolution were the following:

- a) GEORG: the introduction of the three processions with psalmody and the addition of elements from daily Vespers (Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron*)
- b) HS 43: transfer of the entire ancient Lucernarium to a position following the OT readings in such a way that these were henceforth performed in the Anastasis rather than in the basilica itself¹⁸³, and the perfect incorporation of the ancient Vigil into a festal Vesper service.

In this evolution there are two important points to be noted.

1) The monastic influence was eventually determinative in this first section of the service (from the beginning up until the OT readings) in that not only the structure but much of the hymnodic content was taken over from Sabba-type Vespers.

2) Further, it is clear that this evolution is in the direction of a growing importance of the Lucernarium proper. Both GEORG and HS 43 develop the ceremony of the ancient lighting of the candles in the direction of greater ritual solemnity, GEORG with

¹⁸³ If we accept Renoux's affirmation of the difference of strata represented by *J* and *P* we must distinguish also between a first period (*J*) in which the Lucernarium was celebrated in the basilica with the lighting of a single lamp, and a second one (*P*) in which the Lucernarium was transferred to the Anastasis and henceforth involved the lighting of three lamps.

its processions and HS 43 with the elaborate ritual of the entry into the tomb to bring out the "holy fire".

It is important to realize that the growing importance of the Lucernarium does not consist simply in the complexity of its constituent liturgical elements but more fundamentally in the ideological importance attributed to it and in the centrality it acquires in the later documents due to the notion of its miraculous character. Already GEORG's expression "*novam candelam*" is the first indication of a new point of view about the light of Easter evening. At some time between GEORG and HS 43, there arose the concept of the miraculous character of the Easter light which eventually brought the Lucernarium to a position of central importance, to such an extent that one gets the impression from certain of the pilgrim documents that the reception of the holy fire is the only important aspect of the celebration.

A further consequence of the emphasis on the holy fire, was the fact that the Anastasis (where it appeared) became more and more important in the Easter celebrations. Apart from the fact that a greater portion of the Vigil was celebrated there than had been the case in the earlier documents, we find that in HS 43 it came to be used also for "Orthros" and the morning Liturgy.

With the second part of the service corresponding roughly to the ancient Vigil proper, we find that the influence of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople was the determining feature. Up until the time of GEORG there was little alteration of the basic outline of this section, except for the hymnic elements, which were often chosen from different psalms in ARM and GEORG. The most important alteration represented by GEORG was the loss of the second Vigil Liturgy, but here we are probably dealing with a change reflecting local usage in Georgia rather than a true stage in the history of the Jerusalem liturgy, as this Liturgy is still present in HS 43. In this latter document we find that the Constantinopolitan cursus of OT readings has completely ousted the ancient Jerusalem cursus along with the proper poetic and prayer elements that were linked with it. The propers of the Vigil Liturgy are likewise imported, for the most part, from the capital.

Easter Sunday Cathedral Vigil

We have shown that the history of this service is closely related to that of the second Liturgy at the Paschal Vigil. It seems that this latter service was designed to replace the normal Sunday Cathedral Vigil on Easter morning according to the earlier practice

as represented by Egeria and ARM. In the course of time, however, the Cathedral Vigil itself was eventually introduced on Easter morning. This we find both in GEORG and HS 43. HS 43, however, has both second Liturgy and Cathedral Vigil, whereas GEORG has only the Cathedral Vigil.

We also considered the possibility that the disappearance of the second Liturgy in GEORG might have been the cause of the introduction of the Cathedral Vigil on Sunday. ARM *B*, which has only a Gospel reading in place of the second Liturgy, might thus represent an intermediate stage in the gradual loss of this service. However, the fact that HS 43, (which is a better, though later, representative of true Jerusalem practice) has both second Liturgy and Cathedral Vigil, led us to see in the loss of the second Liturgy in ARM *B* and GEORG a phenomenon connected with the adaptation of Jerusalem usage to these foreign traditions.

Structurally speaking we found that both in GEORG and HS 43 the essential elements of the traditional Cathedral Vigil as described by Egeria are present. Thus we have:

<i>Egeria</i>	<i>GEORG</i>	<i>HS 43</i>
—	—	Synapte
three responsorial psalms	evangelica prokeimenon	Epakousta
commemoratio omnium	—	—
Gospel pericope	Jn 20,1-18	Mk 16,1-8
Processional chant	"tractus"	Heothinon Troparion
prayer at Golgotha	oratio	—

Orthros

The only document in which we found an Orthros service was HS 43. GEORG's *matutinum* is simply the Cathedral Vigil. The service in HS 43, despite the clear monastic influences present in it, does not follow the usual schema of festal Orthros of the monastic tradition. Apart from the absence of the section of nocturnal psalmody, which can perhaps be explained by the preservation on Easter Sunday of an Orthros containing only the properly morning section, we find that Ps 50 and the Great Doxology are absent and that the Cathedral Vigil is located in an unusual position, i.e. after the Ainoi. The only other elements from normal Sunday Orthros are the Canon and the other chants sung in between its Odes, and the Ainoi.

A comparison with other cases, where an ancient service is set into the context of the structure of a more normal daily service, has shown that the structure of this service is always respected

and the elements of the ancient service are incorporated into it in one way or another. This being the case, we concluded that the service which served as point of departure for the evolution terminating in HS 43's "Orthros" could not be monastic Orthros, but rather the Cathedral Vigil, whose essential elements are all present. This *a priori* consideration is consolidated by the witness of GEORG which has the Cathedral Vigil as its only morning service. This being the case, the monastic elements (which taken together do *not* add up to the concrete service known as "Orthros" in the Sabba Typicon) must have been introduced subsequently. We have suggested that the presence of the Canon was due to the fact that this item was linked even with the weekly celebration of the Cathedral Vigil as it appears on Palm Sunday in this document, inasmuch as it marked the point at which the patriarch entered for the Cathedral Vigil each Sunday morning. The Ainoi and the Stichera which accompany it are more difficult to explain. We have suggested that these were probably adopted because of the Stichera themselves, which serve as a commentary on the mystery of the day.

Morning Liturgy

With ARM and GEORG we find at least the same Apostle and Gospel pericopes, although the psalmodic material is different. GEORG, moreover, has added other pericopes from the Old Testament and other chants which are not in ARM. With HS 43, however, we witness once again the influence of the Typicon of the Great Church in both the cursus of the readings and in most of the hymnic material, except that it has a substitute for the Cherubikon and has preserved several other chant forms not known in the capital.

CHAPTER ONE

SOME EARLY PATRISTIC WITNESSES

Before considering the earliest liturgical documents referring to the Paschal Vigil in Constantinople, we propose to describe briefly certain patristic texts which throw some light on its celebration during the earlier period of the history of the capital.

1. Easter, 404 A. D.

Unfortunately, the works of Chrysostom composed at Constantinople throw little light on the Paschal services. The only item of interest is his testimony to the use of the Books of Acts as reading material throughout Paschaltide.¹

We have, however, three separate accounts of what took place on the night before Easter in Constantinople in the year 404. Following upon Chrysostom's famous sermon on John the Baptist delivered in 403, in which he alludes to the empress under the name of Herodias, tension began to mount. Eventually, John was forbidden to exercise his ecclesiastical functions. Various descriptions of what happened at Easter, 404 were all written within 50 years of the event itself by authors familiar with the liturgical practice of the capital.² While Chrysostom's account is obviously

¹ CHRYSOSTOM, *Sermo I in Acta Apostolorum*, col. 22; cf. VAN DE PAVERT, *Zur Geschichte*, p. 103, note 91 for the Antiochean writings in which we find the same affirmation.

² PALLADIUS, *Dialogus*, pp. 56-58; SOZOMENOS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, col. 1569; CHRYSOSTOM, *Letter I to Innocent*, col. 533. Chrysostom's letter was written immediately after Easter 404 (cf. QUASTEN, *Patrology* III, 469). According to ALTANER, *Patrology*, p. 254 Palladius' *Dialogus* was published in 419-420 A. D. His acquaintance with church affairs in the capital seems reasonably certain, inasmuch as he was Bishop of Hellenopolis in Bithynia from 400 A. D. (cf. PALLADIUS, *Dialogus*, p. XVI) and a close friend of Chrysostom. Sozomen, whose work was written between 439 and 450 according to Quasten, although born in Palestine, settled in Constantinople where he practised law, and where his *History* was written.

the most important, the other two descriptions add certain details of interest about the celebration, especially since the authors were all writing within a period of fifty years, corresponding to the first half of the fifth century. All three describe the intervention of the military during the course of the Easter Vigil celebrated by those priests who had remained faithful to John. The pertinent passages are presented in parallel columns:

CHRYSOSTOM	SOZOMEN	PALLADIUS
... ἀφ' ὧν στρατιωτῶν πληθος αὐτῷ τῷ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ πρὸς ἑσπέραν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπειγομένης ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις ἐπισπελθόντες τὸν κλῆρον ἅπαντα τὸν σὺν ἡμῖν πρὸς βίαν ἐξέβαλον, καὶ ὅπλοις τὸ βῆμα περιεστοίχιστο. There follows the dispersal of those being baptized. On the following day the people go outside the walls to celebrate the Feast.	... κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἱερὰν νύκτα, ἐν ᾗ ἡ ἐτήσιος ἑορτὴ ἐπὶ ἀναμνήσει τῆς ἀναστάσεως τοῦ χριστοῦ ἐπιτελεῖται, ἐξωθοῦνται τῆς ἐκκλησίας οἱ τὰ αὐτοῦ φρονούντες, ἐπιθεμένων αὐτοῖς ἔτι μυσταγωγοῦσι στρατιωτῶν καὶ τῶν δυσμενῶν. There follows great confusion in the baptistery.	οἱ μὲντοι πρεσβύτεροι Ἰωάννου οἱ τὸν θεῖον ἔχοντες φόβον, ἐν τῷ δημοσίῳ λουτρῷ τοὺς λαοὺς συναγαγόντες εἶχοντο τῆς ἀγρυπνίας, οἱ μὲν τὰ θεῖα λόγια ἀναγινώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ βαπτίζοντες τοὺς κατηχηθέντες, ὡς εἰκὸς διὰ τὸ Πάσχα. Despite the <i>magister's</i> warning, they do not disperse. Consequently, he takes action:

SOZOMEN	PALLADIUS
Αἰσθόμενοι δὲ καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν πληθος τὴν ἐπιβουλὴν, τῇ ὑστεραίᾳ καταλιπόντες τὴν ἐκκλησίαν, ἐν δημοσίῳ λουτρῷ... τὸ Πάσχα ἐπετέλεσαν. When expelled from there, they go to a place outside the city.	ἐξῆλθεν δευτέρα φυλακὴ τῆς νυκτὸς ἐφ' ᾗ ἀπεστάλη (παρατείνουσι γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡμῶν ἕως ἀλέκτορος πρώτου)... There follows a description of the attack.

There are some discrepancies in the three accounts, but they do not affect the points of interest to us. John's account seems to describe the attack of the militia as being directed at various churches of the city (ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις) in which the clergy that had remained faithful to him was officiating. Sozomen speaks of the church and its baptistery, while Palladius speaks of John's clergy assembling the faithful in the public baths, no mention being made of a previously attempted gathering in the church. Sozomen also speaks of these public baths, but according to him it would have been only in the following morning that the people gathered there to celebrate Easter. Chrysostom himself simply says that the following day (Easter) the people fled outside the walls to celebrate

the feast "... ὑπὸ δένδρα καὶ νάπας..." As regards the time of the attack, John simply says that it occurred "... πρὸς ἑσπέραν λοιπὸν τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπειγομένης". Palladius specifies that it was during the second watch of the night. These discrepancies need not detain us. The important items which these texts contain for our purposes are the following.

1) The Paschal Vigil was in the course of celebration at Constantinople according to John "πρὸς ἑσπέραν" or according to Sozomen, "... κατ' αὐτὴν τὴν ἱερὰν νύκτα." Palladius' surprising assertion that it was still going on during the second watch of the night, he explains with the remark: "... παρατείνουσι γὰρ τὸν λαὸν ἐν τοῖς μέρεσιν ἡμῶν ἕως ἀλέκτορος πρώτου." Thus we have a witness to the fact that by the middle of the fifth century, at least, the Vigil at Constantinople was protracted late into the night.

2) The term used by Palladius to describe the Vigil is ἀγρυπνία.

3) Its thematic content is described by Sozomen with the words: "... οἱ μὲν τὰ θεῖα λόγια ἀναγινώσκοντες, οἱ δὲ βαπτίζοντες τοὺς κατηχηθέντες ὡς εἰκὸς διὰ τὸ Πάσχα."

2. Proclus of Constantinople

Another text, likewise of the first half of the fifth century, points out two concrete liturgical items in the celebration of the Paschal Vigil: Proclus *Homily* 27, entitled "Μυσταγωγία εἰς τὸ βάπτισμα."³

Ταῦτά σε τῆς ὁμολογίας ἐκδιδάσκει τὰ ῥήματα. Τῆς υἱοθεσίας σκυτῶ τῇ Τριάδι τὴν λοχείαν ἀπάρτισον ὡς ὠδὴν καὶ πιστεύσον, ὡς λοχεύῃ διάμεινον. ἐν σοὶ χώλεσε τὸ πρὸς γνῶσιν, ὡς βαπτίζῃ καὶ φρόνησον. "Ἐκουσας" πορευθέντες μαθητεύσατε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη, βαπτίζοντες αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Πατρὸς καὶ τοῦ Υἱοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἁγίου Πνεύματος." Αὕτη σοι τῆς ὁμολογίας ἡ γνῶσις τῆς ὁφειλῆς ἐξαλείφει τὸ ἔγγραφον, ταύτῃ τῆς ἐλευθερίας χειρογραφεῖται σοι τὸ σύμβολον.....

"Ἐχεις ἐν σοὶ τῶν περὶ σέ πραγμάτων τὸ σύμβολον γυμνὸς ὡς ἐκ πολέμου προσφαίνῃ, ὡς ἐξ ἐχθρῶν ἡ στολὴ σου διήρπασται, ὁ πούς τὴν πτωχείαν προσμαρτυρεῖ τῇ γυμνότητι, ὡς ἐν πένθει καθιστῶς τοῖς τριχίνοις ἐπιβαίνεις ὑφάσμασιν ὡς ἐπιδεῖς πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀνατείνεις τὰς χεῖρας ἵνα γνῶς πῶς ἐρημόν σε τῶν κακῶν ὁ Δεσπότης προσδέχεται, πῶς σε γυμνὸν ὄντα πλουτίζει τῇ χάριτι, πῶς μύρω σοι τῶν καλῶν τὴν εὐωδίαν ἐντίθησι, πῶς ἐλαίῳ φαιδρύνει

³ Cf. PROCLUS, *Homily* 27. The text is based on Codex Sinai Gr 491, a ninth century manuscript. Proclus was bishop from 434 to 446. Thus once again we are in the first half of the fifth century.

πρὸς ἐκλαμψιν, πῶς ἐν τάφῳ τῇ κολυμβήθρᾳ τὴν φθορὰν ἀποτίθει, πῶς νέος πρὸς ζωὴν ἀνεγείρη τῷ πνεύματι, πῶς λαμπροῖς ἐσθήμασι μεταμφιάζει τὸ σῶμα, πῶς τὸν τῆς ψυχῆς φωτισμὸν αἱ κρατούμεναι ταῖς χερσὶ λαμπάδες γνωρίζουσι, πῶς Δαυὶδ ὡς πρὸς νίκην σοι τῆς μελωδίας ἐξάρχει· "Μακάριοι ὧν ἀφρέθησαν αἱ ἀνομίαι καὶ ὧν ἐπεκαλύφθησαν αἱ ἁμαρτίαι."

There is no direct mention of the fact that this homily is linked with the Paschal Vigil, as Leroy has pointed out. However, in view of the fact that Proclus speaks of the baptized as having heard Mt 28,19 and of having been accompanied from the font by the chant of Ps 31,1⁴, there is good reason to believe that the Gospel reading in question is not simply some reading preceeding the rite of baptism, but rather the Gospel of the Vigil itself. From the earliest liturgical documents of Constantinople the Gospel of the Vigil Liturgy was always Mt 28,1-20. The same was the case in the Jerusalem church at least from the time of the Armenian lectionary, our earliest witness to concrete pericopes. Further, as we shall see later, the use of Ps 31 as a processional from the font is likewise attested to by the earliest liturgical documents. Thus we believe that this homily was given in connection with the Paschal Vigil, as the mystagogical catechesis for the newly baptized. It is more difficult to specify whether or not it was situated immediately after the Gospel, or after the Liturgy itself, as seems to have been the case in Jerusalem.⁵

⁴ Leroy mistakenly refers to this as Ps 33, as does Wenger (cf. CHRY-SOSTOME, *Huit catéchèses*, p. 101), whom the former cites without correcting.

⁵ Cf. *Itinerarium Egeriae* XLVII, 1; CYRIL OF JERUSALEM, 18th *Catechesis*, col. 1056.

CHAPTER TWO

DESCRIPTION OF THE LITURGICAL DOCUMENTS

1. Typica and Praxapostoloi

P = Patmos 266 is the oldest representative of the Typicon of the Great Church which is known to us. Although Baumstark attempted to date its liturgical parts sometime before 843 A. D.⁶, Mateos following Delehaye⁷ dates the manuscript from the end of the 9th or the beginning of the 10th century, pointing out the inapplicability of Baumstark's criteria of judgement. The manuscript probably originated in some Palestinian monastery since it shows considerable signs of adaptation to this type of liturgy. Delehaye suggests that it was probably written by a monk of Sabba⁸.

H = Jerusalem Patriarchate Hagios Stauros 40, on the contrary, represents the purest of Constantinopolitan practice, save for certain material in its appendices and for one item in the course of the text⁹. A consideration of datable references in the text of the Typicon has enabled Mateos to date it from between 950 (date of the translation of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus) and 959 (date of the death of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, who is mentioned as if still alive)¹⁰.

This excellent manuscript provides the *texte de base* of Mateos' edition¹¹. Variants of other manuscripts are provided in the critical apparatus. Of the various manuscripts used by Mateos, only *H* and *P* contain a description of the Paschal feast. There is,

⁶ BAUMSTARK, *Das Typicon*, pp. 98-111. He dates the cycle of moveable feasts from around 843; the liturgical part of the sanctoral cycle (Typicon) between 802 and 806; the hagiographical section (Synaxarion), between 878 and 893.

⁷ MATEOS, *Typicon* I, pp. X-XVIII; DELEHAYE, *Synaxarium*, p. XI.

⁸ Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* I, p. VIII.

⁹ I. e., on Cheese-fare Sunday, cf. *ibid.*, p. IX, note 2.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. XVIII-XIX.

¹¹ Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon*.

however, another important manuscript which was not available at the time of publication of his edition. It is the following.

Dres = *Codex A 104 of the Royal Library of Dresden*¹² which Dmitrievskij discusses at length is, strictly speaking, a Praxapostolos rather than a Typicon¹³. It is in the course of the pericopes¹⁴ that its rubrical and hymnodic material is found. Dmitrievskij agrees with Schnorr von Karolsfeld in dating the manuscript from the 10th to the 11th century. Once again the translation of the relics of Gregory of Nazianzus sets the *terminus post quem* at 950 A. D. The feast of the Three Hierarchs instituted in 1084¹⁵ is not yet present. Further, Photios is not yet referred to as "Hagios". But in many manuscripts of the 11th century this is already the case. Accordingly, Dmitrievskij concludes that the manuscript dates from not later than the first half of the 11th century.

As for its liturgical content, he says that it is the most complete of all three (*H*, *P*, *Dres*). It is particularly rich as regards the participation of the emperor in the liturgy. Unfortunately, the text has not yet been edited, and we must depend entirely on the excerpts which Dmitrievskij gives in his work. In certain cases he simply paraphrases in Russian certain parts of the material without clearly specifying what he is omitting¹⁶.

Only a more complete study of the manuscript will reveal

¹² Cf. *Ibid.*, p. VIII. He cites the manuscript as A 104; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, pp. 260-61 says it is found in SCHNORR VON KAROLFELD, *Catalog der Handschriften der königl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zur Dresden*, Leipzig, 1882, as number 104, but he himself cites it throughout his text as 140.

¹³ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, pp. 254-347. Its interesting history is discussed on pp. 254-264. It apparently was one of the Greek liturgical books taken to Russia (from the Athonite monastery of Stauronikita) at the time of the reform of Patriarch Nikon of Moscow between 1653 and 1655 by Arsenios Suchanov. From there it was brought back to Dresden by Mattei in 1788. Taken to the Soviet Union during the second World War, it has now been returned to Dresden but is in a poor state of preservation.

¹⁴ These begin with Easter and follow through until All Saints. Lent comes next, and finally a triple Synaxarion. Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, pp. 265-67 for an outline of its contents.

¹⁵ SERGIJ, *Polnij Mesjatsoslov II*, 46, cited by DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, p. 267, note 1.

¹⁶ In the case of the long paraphrase on pp. 160-64 we must be very careful because, although a reference on p. 164, note 1 attributes the material to *Dres* (ff. 132-33), within the paraphrase he seems to be using items from Patmos as well, without indicating this. On pp. 162-63, for instance, we read: "ἐπὶ τῇ φιλίας (= *Dres*) or εἰς τοὺς μέσους πολῶνας (= *H* and *P*)". (Brackets are mine).

whether or not its content represents a truly later stage of development of the SOPH liturgy in respect to *H* and *P*. No doubt, in some cases the differences are attributable to the fact that *Dres* enters into more detail than *H* and *P*. Nonetheless, the clear presence of a clumsily incorporated repetition of Vespers according to the Sabba tradition during the Easter Vigil, seems to point to a later period than *H* or *P*. The use of the reading from Gregory of Nazianzus which follows the kiss of peace after Easter Orthros might point in the same direction. Finally, the presence of the Kontakion after the Eisodikon and Doxa of the third Antiphon of the Liturgy of Easter day, absent in *H* and *P*, also correspond to a later usage (at least for Easter day itself).

Moscow Academy Praxapostolos. Mansvetov¹⁷ published excerpts of a document similar to that of *Dres*. It is also a Praxapostolos with copious rubrical material. He judges it to date from the 11th to the 12th century and shows it to be clearly of Constantinopolitan usage¹⁸. Fortunately, he reproduces much of the Paschal Vigil *in extenso*.

Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum Codex 222. This manuscript consists of a 12th century copy of the *Synaxarion* of George Mtatsmindeli, composed for the Athonite monastery of Iviron at some time between 1042 and 1045 when this latter served as "dean" of the monastery¹⁹. Although the document is largely inspired by the Hypotyposis and the Diatyposis, its sanctoral part depends essentially on the Typicon of the Great Church. This latter also re-appears in the Triodion-Pentecostarion section in the form of two texts providing alternative forms of celebration for Holy Saturday Vespers and the beginning of Easter Orthros.

The practice of the Great Church reflected in this document would probably be that of the 11th century. It is unfortunate that Dmitrievskij does not describe the celebration of Orthros in

¹⁷ MANSVETOV, *Ustav*, pp. 242-49. No more precise information is given as to its reference number.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 228; SERGIJ, *Polnij Mesjatsoslov II*, 110 speaks of another document which he affirms to be similar to this Moscow Praxapostolos. Codex Mark Nanian CLXVI, however, to which he refers is, according to MINGARELLI, *Graeci codices*, pp. 366-376 (whom he cites) not a Praxapostolos but an Evangelary, and its rubrical material is very little, judging from the entry on Easter reproduced in part by Mingarelli (p. 366).

¹⁹ The document has been translated into Russian in KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĭskie*, pp. 228-313. Cf. below pp. 169-171 for a fuller discussion of the manuscript used for the translation and a general history of the document. Although entitled «Synaxarion» it is a complete Typicon.

Dres, which is also of the 11th century. As things stand, we have no point of comparison in another document reflecting 11th century practice for the service described in the Georgian manuscript.

2. Prophetologia

The second series of documents of interest to us are the various Prophetologia. The edition of Høeg and Zuntz²⁰ is based on a study of numerous manuscripts, and its critical apparatus presents the readings of the most important representatives of various sub-groups. The following are, for our purposes the most important²¹.

V = Venice, Marcianus 13 and *d2* = Oxford, Laudianus Gr 36 Both of these 11th century codices are judged to be the most important, as they were probably in use in the capital itself. They contain references to the emperor and to certain places in the city, which are absent in other codices. For this reason chief attention is given to them in Chart C. Others are not completely presented, but only in sufficient measure to point out interesting variants.

S 98 = Jerusalem Patriarchate Sabba 98 and *S* 247 = Jerusalem Patriarchate Sabba 247.

Likewise of the 11th century, these codices, although they have dropped certain rubrics which were of meaning only in the capital, do not adapt the text to the local needs of the Jerusalem Church.

Sin 9 = Sinai 9. This manuscript dating from about the beginning of the 11th century shows very close affinities to *S* 247, both as regards the text of the readings as well as the rubrics. Even certain mistakes of the scribe are the same in both. Thus, *Sin* 9 was very probably written in Jerusalem and only later taken to Sinai²².

S 143 = Jerusalem Patriarchate Sabba 143 of the 12th century. Despite its relatively late age, this document shows curious signs of likeness with *V*²³.

Sin 14 = Sinai 14 of the 11th-12th century²⁴.

²⁰ *Prophetologium*; Fascicule V contains the services for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.

²¹ *Prophetologium* I, 13-18.

²² *Ibid.*, V, 418.

²³ *Ibid.*, V, 420-21.

²⁴ This codex was apparently not used in the edition of Høeg and

R = *Vat Reg Gr* 75 of 982 A. D. which seems to have been written somewhere in southern Italy.

F = *Florence, Laurentianus Pl. IX*, 15 of the 10th century is written in a script similar to that used at Benevento. Thus, it also probably stems from southern Italy. These latter two documents, though they agree in large measure with the other traditions as regards the rubrics, differ considerably in the text of the pericopes and in the style of writing. The neumes are also lacking.

Δ 2 = *Crypt A* δ II (554) (10th century) of the monastery of Grottaferrata.

3. A Patriarchal Euchologion: *Crypt* Γ β I

The history of this 11th century Euchologion is described by Rocchi²⁵. It is clearly a patriarchal ritual for the church of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople. Of the greatest interest is its detailed description of the baptism in the great baptistery of Hagia Sophia in the course of the Paschal Vigil. (ff. 53-58).

4. Courtly Rituals

Book of Ceremonies of Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus

A compilation of courtly ceremonial, this work of Constantine VII is of some interest to us in that it confirms the witness of *Dres* concerning the ceremony performed during the chant of Ps 81 at the Paschal Vigil after the Apostle. The reconstruction of the original text presents difficulties due to interpolations inserted into the work in the course of time between its composition and the time of copying of the single manuscript which has come down to us. This latter dates from the end of the 12th or the beginning of the 13th century²⁶. The point of interest to us, however, is well attested to by the Dresden manuscript. In its original form the work seems to date from sometime before 959, the date of Constantine's death.

Zuntz. Reference is made to it in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie, Typica* I, 132, note 2. We have personally studied it on microfilm.

²⁵ ROCCHI, *Codices*, p. 244.

²⁶ *Le livre des cérémonies*, Commentaire I, pp. xvii-xxii.

Traité des offices of Pseudo-Kodinos

This work has been described by Jean Verpeaux, its latest editor²⁷, as "... un cérémonial aulique composé autour de 1350-60 par un fonctionnaire du service du protocole ou un dignitaire très au fait de l'étiquette et des préséances." The fourth chapter contains an interesting description of Easter Orthros in the royal chapel along with a few remarks concerning the Vigil Liturgy.

Although the documents which have come down to us concerning the liturgy of Hagia Sophia are somewhat abundant, nonetheless they cover a relatively short period of time, practically speaking from the end of the 9th to the 11th century. Only Pseudo-Kodinos is from a later period, namely the 14th century. Thus while we are well informed concerning the liturgy at the zenith of its development (corresponding to a period of good fortune for Byzantium) we are hardly in a position to study its gradual development over a number of centuries, as we were able to do in the case of Jerusalem.

Within the span of the two centuries which we were able to study, the most important trend which begins to make itself felt is the gradual infiltration of elements from the Sabba tradition. Thus we find in *Dres* the rather clumsy insertion of what seems to be Palestinian Vespers into the end of the baptism service in the chapel of Hagios Petros. The kiss of peace and the reading from Gregory Nazianzenus, which appear for the first time here, might also be the result of an influence from the direction of Palestine, but the silence of the earlier documents might simply be due to the fact that the ceremony takes place in the patriarchate rather than in the Great Church. With Pseudo-Kodinos we find that the Sabba ordo is already being used for Easter Orthros in the imperial chapel of the palace.

Between the various documents, there is often considerable difference of detail. As will be seen from Chart B, no one source gives a complete picture of the service. Each adds something of its own. The reason for this is that each document was written from a specific point of view. The Typica present a general picture of the services and represent the most complete account of the overall structure, but even they do not provide all of the liturgical material. For the details of the baptisms and the accompanying processions we must turn to the Grottaferrata Euchologion. Constantine VII's *Book of Ceremonies* and Pseudo-Kodi-

²⁷ PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité*, p. 39.

nos' *Traité des offices*, on the other hand, are written with a view to providing the details of the emperor's participation in the services²⁸. The Prophetologia, apart from the actual Old Testament texts which they provide for the readers, often give interesting details omitted by the Typica.

The presence of the emperor and his court and of the patriarch in the services of Hagia Sophia have given the characteristic shape to the liturgy of this church, as Dmitrievskij has so well pointed out²⁹, and this in contrast to Jerusalem where the decisive factor was rather the physical presence of the great shrines of Christianity. While in this latter case the emphasis was on celebration of a mystery *in situ* with the concomitant complexity of rite, Constantinople provided for an elaborate participation of the court in a service whose purely liturgical structure is surprisingly simple and almost bare. The Easter services are no exception to this general state of affairs. Apart from the longer cursus of readings at the Vigil and the baptism which takes place during them, there is little in the structure which is alien to the ordinary festal celebrations of the Typicon. The entries for Easter simply present, for the most part, the proper readings and chants for the day. There is no special Lucernarium nor theological development in meaning of the light of the Easter Lucernarium, such as we found in Jerusalem.

The mutual influences between the two great centers have been studied by both Baumstark and Dmitrievskij. The former³⁰ divided this into three periods. During a first period Constantinople exerted its influence on the Cathedral Typicon of Jerusalem. The witness of this would be the Constantinopolitan elements found in HS 43. However, there were important connections between the monasteries of the Stoudion at Constantinople and Saint Sabba in Palestine, both on the basis of a common front in the iconoclast controversy as well as in the liturgical realm. This led to an infiltration of structures from the Palestinian liturgy into that of Stoudion and from this latter into the very Cathedral liturgy of the capital, at a period which Baumstark is unable to fix, though he affirms it would not have been earlier than the middle of the 10th

²⁸ A concrete example of this diversity of emphasis may be seen in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneishie*, pp. 168-69, where the meeting of emperor and patriarch is described in two different documents in parallel columns. The first, Dresden A 104, clearly stresses the function of the patriarch, while the second, *Le livre des cérémonies*, that of the emperor.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 185-86.

³⁰ BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 21 ff.

century. Finally, this elaboration of the Sabba structure by the Studion would finally have been accepted in the Patriarchate of Jerusalem in the form of the present Sabba typicon.

Dmitrievskij³¹ also affirms the influence of SOPH on the liturgy of Jerusalem during Bamstark's first period, which he sets from the first half of the 7th to the 10th or 11th century, due especially to the growing prestige of the Patriarchate of Constantinople in the wake of Byzantium's rise to glory. Although he does not discuss the subsequent periods mentioned by Baumstark, he traces the history of these mutual influences back further. During the period before the 7th century, it was rather Jerusalem which exerted its influence on the capital. The magnificent buildings of Jerusalem constructed by Constantine and Helen were, in themselves, a witness of the interest of Byzantium in the Holy City. These constructions were precisely the setting of the new liturgy of Jerusalem, which was to be elaborated around the celebration of the events of Christ's life in the very places where they occurred. Dmitrievskij³² studies what he believes to be the concrete influences of Jerusalem's liturgy upon the Typicon of Constantinople.

CHAPTER THREE

THE PASCHAL VIGIL

1. Preliminary Ceremonies

Both *H* and *P* allude to the fact that at the sixth hour the emperor comes to Hagia Sophia to change the altar cloths, after which the patriarch incenses the church. *Dres* describes these ceremonies in the greatest detail. There would be no reason to consider these ceremonies in connection with the Vigil if it were not for an interesting parallel which Dmitrievskij found between this text of *Dres* and the incensation which immediately precedes the coming of the Holy Fire in HS 43. According to him, we have here a case of Jerusalem influence on the liturgy of Constantinople³³.

HS 43

Καὶ μετὰ τοῦτο εὐθὺς εἰσέλθῃ ὁ πατριάρχης εἰς τὸ "Ἁγιον Βῆμα καὶ ῥογαῖει τὸ θυμίαμα τῶν μητροπολιτῶν καὶ ἐπισκόπων καὶ πρε(σβυτέρων), καὶ ἄρξουνται θυμιάσειν αὐτὸς καὶ οἱ ἀρχιερεῖς καὶ ἱερεῖς μετ' αὐτοῦ θυμιάσου(ν) τὸν ναὸν ἔξωθεν τοῦ "Ἀγίου Τάφου, καὶ κυκλῶνουν αὐτὸν γ' φορὰς, καὶ αὐτὸς κεκλεισμέν(ένος), ὁμοίως καὶ ὁ ναὸς τρεῖς φορὰς. Εὐθὺς ἐξέλθουσιν καὶ ἀναβαίνου(ν) εἰς τὸν "Ἁγιον Γολγοθὰν μετὰ τὸ θυμιάσου(ν) κάτωθ(εν), ὁμοίως καὶ τὸν "Ἁγιον Κῆπον, καὶ τὸν "Ἁγιον Κωνσταντῖνον, καὶ τὴν "Ἁγίαν Φυλακὴν, ἕως οὐ ἔλθωσιν εἰς τὴν πύλιν τῆς ἀγίας Ἀναστάσεως, ὃν (ἥ) καλεῖται ἡ πύλη τῶν Μυροφόρων. Τότε παραλαμβάνουσιν οἱ ὑποδιάκονοι τοὺς θυμιατοὺς ἐκ τῶν ἀρχιερέων καὶ ἱερέων, καὶ εἰσελεύσονται ὅλοι εἰς τὸ "Ἁγιον Βῆμα.

DRES

Περὶ δὲ ὥραν ζ' ἀσφαλιζομένης τῆς ἐκκλησίας, ἀποστέλλει ὁ πατριάρχης τινὰς τῶν οικείων αὐτοῦ, καὶ κατερχόμενοι προθυμῶσι μετὰ κατζίων τὸν ὅλον ναὸν. Εἴτα κατέρχεται καὶ αὐτὸς διὰ τοῦ καμαριτζίου, ἀκολουθοῦντες αὐτῷ καὶ συγκέλλου καὶ τῶν ἀρχόντων αὐτοῦ, καὶ κουβουκλειοῦ τοῦ τὸ φατλίον βαστάζοντος. Θυμιᾷ δὲ τὸ θυσιαστήριον, καὶ ἐξερχόμενος ἐμπροσθεν τῶν ἁγίων θυρῶν, εὐρίσκων ἐκεῖ τὸν τε ἀρχιδιάκονον καὶ τὸν δευτερεύοντα, ὡσαύτως καὶ τοὺς διακόνους ἡλλαγμένους, ἐπιδίδωσιν αὐτοῖς θυμιάματα, καὶ θυμιῶσι τοὺς δύο ἐμβόλους, ὡς κατὰ τύπον. Εἰς δὲ τῶν κουβουκλ(εισ)ίων ἀνέρχεται ἐν τῷ ἄμβωνι καὶ ἐν τῷ κειμένῳ ἐκεῖσε ἀρουλακίῳ καπνίζει τὸν ναὸν ἀπὸ κουτζουμβρικίου θυμιάματος. Ὁ δὲ πατριάρχης θυμιᾷ ἔσω τοῦ ναοῦ. Μετὰ δὲ τὸ ἐλθεῖν εἰς τὰς πύλας, ἀνέρχεται πάλιν τὴν μέσσην τοῦ ναοῦ καὶ λέγει εἰς τὰ ποτάμια.

³¹ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneishie*, pp. 114 ff.

³² *Ibid.*, pp. 117-151.

³³ *Ibid.*, pp. 142-43.

Πυλαιῶνας. Εἴτα ἄρχεται εἰς τὸν ἄμβωνα καὶ, διερχόμενος τὴν σολαίαν, εἰσέρχεται ἐν τῷ θυσιαστηρίῳ καὶ ἐμπροσθεν τῆς ἁγίας τραπέζης ἱστάμενος, λέγει· Εὐλογημένος εἰ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς ἁγίας δόξης σου, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεὸς ἡμῶν, πάντοτε νῦν καὶ ἀεὶ καὶ εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας τῶν αἰώνων. Ἀποκρίνεται δὲ αὐτῷ ἀπὸ τῶν πυλῶν ὁ σκευοφύλαξ τὸ Ἀμήν. Καὶ ἀνοίγε(ται) ἡ ἐκκλησία.

Commentary on the text of *Dres*

Those sent to incense the church before the patriarch arrives use the *κατζί*³⁴. When the patriarch arrives he first incenses the sanctuary. Coming out of the doors he finds the archdeacon, the deutereuon, and the deacons waiting. Thuribles are given to them, and they proceed to incense the two porticoes³⁵. One of the ministers of the cubiculum goes up to the ambo to burn incense in the small brazier which lies there³⁶. The patriarch incenses the nave. After arriving at the Royal Doors, he comes back into the nave as far as that part of the pavement where the pattern of undulating lines begins³⁷. The patriarch then exclaims: "Πυλαιῶνας," a term probably to be translated as "portals"³⁸. Then making his way back to the sanctuary through the lower passage of the ambo and through the solea, he stands before the Holy Table and sings the special blessing to which the skeuophylax answers "Amen" from the back doors, which are then opened.

The points of contact between the two texts, apart from the fact of the incensation itself, are:

1) The completeness with which various parts of both buildings are incensed.

³⁴ This word, according to Ducange, is derived from the Italian "cassa" or crucible and would be used for thurible. Current day usage refers to this word as the special hand censer used especially during Lent for certain incensations. Cf. *Typicon, Constantinople* 1888, p. 377, note 45.

³⁵ The word ἐμβόλους which normally means "portico" probably refers here to the two side aisles.

³⁶ Ἀρουλα and ἀρουλάκιον are derived from the Latin "arula" or brazier. This was probably a fixed thurible, as it is said "ἐν τῷ καίμενῳ ἐκεῖσε ἀρουλάκιον." The word κουτζουμβρικίον is not to be found in any of the dictionaries consulted.

³⁷ The expression used is "τὰ ποτάμια." Cf. MATHEWS, *The Early Churches*, p. 127, note 3.

³⁸ It is based on πόλη no doubt but is not to be found in the dictionaries.

2) The participation in the incensing, on the one hand, of patriarch, metropolitans, bishops and priests, and on the other, of the patriarch and "those of his household", who likewise incense. Various other clergy assist him in this incensing: the archdeacon, the deacons in vestments, and the deutereuon, who incense the porticoes, and one of the ministers of the cubiculum, who burns incense in the ambo.

3) The time of the incensing. When Dmitrievskij wrote his *Drevneiše*, Kekelidze's edition of the Georgian lectionary was not yet published. Thus his only point of reference was HS 43, where, as we have seen, the entire Lucernarium has been transferred to a place after the readings. The primitive place of this incensation, however, was precisely *before* the Lucernarium, as we find it in GEORG and once again here in *Dres*. Thus here, too, we have a parallel between the two traditions.

4) The "ἀσφαλιζομένης τῆς ἐκκλησίας — ἀνοίγε(ται) ἡ ἐκκλησία" seems to be parallel to GEORG's muniunt portas — aperiunt portas. (708-716)

It will be remembered that there is another document with elements resembling those we are here considering. The Melkite Praxapostolos Vat Syr 21 of Antiochean origin, which we have already studied³⁹, contains the same sequence of elements, although the incensation is described in far less detail than here.

<i>Vat Syr 21</i>	<i>Dres</i>
Incensant juxta ordinem	Incensations
Pontifex: Benedictus es ...	Patriarch: Εὐλογημένος εἰ
Subdeacon (from west door): Amen.	Skeuophylax (from back doors): Amen.
Litany, prayer of light, lighting of candles, etc.	Doors are opened.

After a preliminary incensation we find a "blessing" which is identical in both cases, as is the curious "Amen" answered from the back of the church, in one case by a subdeacon, in the other by the skeuophylax. It is clear that in the case of *Dres* the ceremony has been shortened and its original significance seems to have been lost. The central element of the Lucernarium has disappeared. Furthermore the rite is not performed in connection with the Vigil proper. It occurs at the sixth hour of Saturday and, whatever its origins, seems to have been understood by this time as a sort of purificatory rite, performed in connection

³⁹ Cf. pp. 58-63.

with the changing of the altar cloth by the emperor. Despite this, however, the similarities to HS 43 and Vat Syr 21 seem to indicate that in its origin it stemmed from the Lucernarium of Jerusalem. This might well have been via Antioch, in view of the close liturgical relations between the two cities. De facto, the special "blessing" found here and in the Antiochean manuscript is not to be found in any other document which we have seen.

2. The Beginning of Vespers

Whatever might have been the primitive shape of the Paschal Vigil at Constantinople, by the time of the earliest of the Typica, it not only is situated in the evening hours (as was already the case with Chrysostom), but is set in the context of a festal Vesper service, or *paramone*.

After the opening psalm (Ps 85) and the variable psalmody, Ps 140 is sung. Although *H* and *P* do not indicate a refrain for this, we find such a one in the Prophetologia *V*, Sin 9, and Sin 14. Δ 2 gives an alternative⁴⁰. The Moscow Academy Praxapostolos blends both of these into a single Troparion⁴¹. Dmitrievskij refers to Codex 252 of the Athonite monastery of Panteleimon (without specifying what type of document it is) in which the same refrain is found with a variant which differs only in one word⁴². All of these refrains concern the theme of the Resurrection.

Sin 14, also a Prophetologion of the 11th-12th century, has an interesting remark calling for the Stichera of the Octoechos (first tone) "afterwards," followed by *Doxa kai nyn* with the Troparion Σὲ τὸν ἀναβαλλόμενον τὸ φῶς.⁴³

We have here a clear case of an attempt to blend two distinct traditions: that of Constantinople with its single brief refrain for Ps 140 and that of Sabba with its set of Octoechos Stichera for Saturday evening Vespers. A similar blend of the two traditions is to be found in the Codex 102 of the former St. Petersburg National Library⁴⁴ of the 13th century, which is even clearer in

⁴⁰ This troparion, Σαρκὶ παθὼν, is not indicated in the edition of Høeg and Zuntz, but it is found in the original (f. 101v).

⁴¹ Cf. MANSVETOV, *Ustav*, p. 244.

⁴² DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie, Typica* I, p. 132, note 1.

⁴³ This latter Troparion is used in the current Byzantine service as the Doxastikon for the Aposticha of Vespers on Good Friday evening. In the manuscript collections, it is usually found under Holy Saturday.

⁴⁴ Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie, Typica* II, p. 492.

its description of how this is to be performed. This manuscript indicates the introductory Psalm from both traditions: Ps 85 of SOPH preceded by Ps 103 of Sabba. For Ps 140 the refrain of the Prophetologia is indicated. At the sixth to last verse, however, a series of three Stichera (at least one of which is from the Sabba Holy Saturday series) are appointed to be sung twice each. For the *Doxa kai nyn*, we find the same Sticheron as is used in the Sabba Typicon.

The hybrid tradition represented by these two examples has, we feel, little significance for the history of the practice of Hagia Sophia itself. The books which witness to it originated and were used in other places, which had a liturgy of Sabba-type. What is interesting is that over and beyond the reading material from the Constantinopolitan cursus, which the Sabba tradition seems to have adopted universally, these documents witness to the structural influence of the capital in the use of one or other item from the normal Vesper service of the Great Church, such as Ps 85 or the singing of Ps 140 with a single refrain.

The case of *Dres*, however, is directly related to Constantinopolitan practise. In this document after conferring the Myron in the church of St. Peter, the patriarch washes his hands and puts on the Omophorion. Then begins what Dmitrievskij calls "... the order of usual Sunday Vespers of the first tone." In the place of the Troparion Θεοτόκε παρθένε χαῖρε there is sung Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος. After the Prokeimenon the priest celebrants, having made reverence to the patriarch, change to white vestments.

Unfortunately Dmitrievskij does not give us the original Greek text of this passage, and so we must be satisfied with his paraphrase. In any case one thing seems clear: we are dealing with a Vesper service of the Sabba tradition. The mention of the "first tone" is enough to situate us in this realm. Presumably the Stichera of the first tone from the Octoechos for Sunday are sung with Ps 140, etc. The mention of the Troparion of the Theotokos would seem to point to the Artcklasia following festal Vespers, at which time this is usually sung. However, Dmitrievskij goes on to speak of the Prokeimenon after this, giving the impression that the assembly prepares to go to the Great Church after the Prokeimenon. It is pointless, however, to speculate on what the original Greek text specifies.

In any case, we have here, it would seem, an attempt to incorporate Vespers of the Sabba tradition into the service of the Great Church. If the impression we get from Dmitrievskij is correct, namely that this Vesper service was performed only up until the

Prokeimenon, it would consist precisely in those parts where Sabba is different from SOPH, the rest of the Vigil with its readings and proper chants being largely identical in both traditions. The reason for this strange location of the service is perhaps linked with the fact that baptisms were becoming more and more rare on Holy Saturday and the need to find a place for Sabba Vespers was readily satisfied here where time was available. *Dres* has the same remark as *H* and *P* about the last seven readings before the Daniel pericope being used only in case of need to give the patriarch time to finish baptism, Myron and these special Vespers. Thus the presupposition is that all of these, including Vespers, was necessarily performed, and, that in some cases, they might all be concluded during the first seven readings. It is very much to be regretted that the original text of *Dres* is not available to us. It is safe to conclude, however, that we have here an attempt at the introduction of the Sabba ordo without abandoning the older Constantinopolitan tradition.

Thus we find that by the time of *Dres* the Sabba ordo was able to penetrate even into the services of the Great Church. It is to be noted, however, that this Sabba type Vesper service takes place not in the main church but in the small church of St. Peter where the sacrament of Myron had been conferred. Similar cases of Sabba influence in the offices of Hagia Sophia also take place in areas other than the main church⁴⁵.

⁴⁵ Prophetologion V, our faithful witness to the pure Constantinopolitan tradition, while it does not mention the case of the special celebration of Vespers on Holy Saturday in St. Peter's, does have something analogous for Holy Thursday. In the earlier *Typicon H*, the service of the footwashing is still set in the course of Constantinopolitan Vespers: "μετὰ τὰ ἐσπερινὰ (ἀντίφωνα)" namely, Ps. 85, the variable psalmody, and Ps 140; in other words, preceding the entrance of Vespers. It is situated in the narthex from which the patriarch would make his normal entrance for Vespers after its completion. The second part of Vespers follows with the special lenten readings, and the Liturgy. In *Typicon P*, however, the ceremony is situated in a monastic context, but still in the narthex of the church. Mateos has pointed out (*Typicon II*, p. 75, note 1) the Palestinian influence visible in the chant of Ps 118 with Troparia during the service. Finally in the case of *Prophetologion V* (which, it will be remembered, is like *Dres* a witness to 11th century practice), the washing of the feet is still in the narthex, but it has by now been set in the context of complete Sabba Vespers performed in this same place. "Ἀρχεται τὸ λυχνικὸν εἰς τὸν ναρθήκα." This consists of Ps 103, Ps 140 etc. with Stichera of the day, Prokeimenon, Gospel of the washing of the feet with the ceremony of washing performed by the patriarch, Ektenes and Apolysis. Constantinopolitan Vespers now follow in the Great Church, the patriarch entering during the Doxa of Ps 140. (cf. *Prophetologium IV*, 384-85).

3. The OT Readings

A glance at the comparative table enables us to see that there are eight readings in common between the older Jerusalem cursus and that of Hagia Sophia, which later found its way into Palestine both in the monastic as well as the cathedral Typicon of Jerusalem⁴⁶. Of these eight readings of Jerusalem, the order of

Panteleimon 68 of the Athonite monastery of this name, an 11th century codex (cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Opisanie, Typica I*, pp. 129-30, note 1) presents a similar state of affairs. After the washing of the altar on Holy Thursday the assistants go to the narthex "καὶ ἀρχεται ψάλλειν τὸ λυχνικὸν τοῦ ἀγιοπολίτου. In the context of these Sabba Vespers the footwashing is performed after the Prokeimenon. After this, "τελεῖται τὸ λυχνικὸν τὸ ἐπίλοιπον καὶ εἰθ' οὕτως ἀρχεται ἡ ἐκκλησία τὸ λυχνικὸν τοῦ ἐκκλησιαστοῦ, καὶ γινομένης εὐχῆς εἰσδεύει ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς..."

Finally, in a context no longer that of Holy Thursday, we have a much later example of this blend of the two traditions in the practice of the Thessalonikan monks for the celebration of the Presanctified Liturgy. Here, Palestinian Vespers are celebrated "... ἐν τῇ πλαγίᾳ ... τοῦ ναοῦ ὡς παράκλησις ... παρὰ τῶν ψαλτῶν." (cf. SYMEON OF THESSALONIKA, *De Sacra Precatione* 352, col. 653, cited by JANERAS, *La partie vespérale*, pp. 220-21). The service of the Presanctified with its own "double Vespers" is begun. The first half of this contains the Constantinopolitan elements of Pss 85 and 140, and the three Antiphons (cf. JANERAS, *La partie vespérale*, p. 221 for the schema of this office.) It will be noted that the Sabba Vespers are situated "in the side of the church" where they are performed "as a paraclesis by the chanters." The almost private character of this celebration offers a parallel to the case of Prophetologion V and Panteleimon 68 where the Sabba Vespers are celebrated in the narthex and our own case of *Dres's* celebration of these same Vespers in the relatively private context of St. Peter's. Thus we can see that the Sabba ordo got its first foothold in celebrations outside of the main church.

⁴⁶ Mateos is wrong in indicating the fifth reading as Josh 11, 5b-15a. The incipit and desinit of this reading, which he provides in the Greek text correspond perfectly to those of the various Prophetologia and the earlier printed texts of the Triodion. The text in all these cases is the same as the current reading of Josh 5, 10-15. The source of the difficulty lies precisely in the incipit and desinit. Rahlfs clears this up, however, in his remark to the effect that one of the manuscripts whose reading he presents "... schikt ein orientierendes παρενέβαλον (οἱ) υἱοὶ Ἰσραὴλ ἐν Γαλγάνοις vorauf, am Schl. fügt er καὶ ἐποίησεν Ἰησοῦς οὕτως hinzu." Thus it would seem that we are dealing with a simple introductory and concluding phrase similar to those used in conjunction with the New Testament readings in the Liturgy.

The fourteenth reading from Jeremias, although it is indicated as being Chapter 38, 31-34, is, nonetheless, identical with the Jerusalem ordo's Jer 31, 31-34. In the former case the citation is on the basis of the Septuagint's division of the chapters, whereas the latter is in line with the Hebrew and Vulgate.

their occurrence is the same in both series with the important exception of Gen 22,1-5 and Is 60,1-16 which have changed places, the former occurring in Jerusalem as the second reading and the latter as the sixth, whereas it is just the opposite in SOPH.

Rahlf's proposes that Ex 37,1-14 of the early Jerusalem cursus must have once been one of the Constantinopolitan readings for the Vigil, since it is found at the morning office in SOPH⁴⁷. Since there are baptisms after Orthros in SOPH, it is possible that Ezek 37 *did* find its way from the Vigil readings to this baptism service after Orthros in order to provide reading material of appropriate content for the morning baptism. Zeffass without ruling this out as a possibility suggests another alternative namely that this reading from Ezekiel stands in relation to the quasi-cursus reading of Ezekiel at Tierce-Sext of the first three days of Holy Week⁴⁸.

Due to the exceptional structure and the large number of readings of the Paschal Vigil we propose to attempt to clarify these by referring first to the two other Vigil services of SOPH with a large number of readings, as these have a somewhat clearer structure.

In the case of the Epiphany Vigil⁴⁹ with its *twelve readings*, a rubrical note specifies that only the first seven pericopes are read, unless the patriarch retires to his palace for a while. In this case, the five other readings are to be used to fill up this interval. This division of seven-five is further brought out by the fact that in each block the Septuagint order of the Scriptural books is respected:

Gen 1,1-13	Gen 32,2-11
Ex 14,15-29	Ex 2,5-10
Ex 15,22 - 16,1	Troparion
Troparion	Judg 6,36-40
Josh 3,7-17	1 Kings 18,30-39
2 Kings 2,4-14	2 Kings 2,19-22
2 Kings 5,9-14	
Troparion	
Is 1,16-20	

In the fifteenth reading from Daniel, some manuscripts add verses 52-56 to the reading to fill in the gap left by what seems to be the earlier tradition. Of the codices which Rahlf's studied, only Bib Nat Gr 273 gives these verses. (Cf. RAHLF'S, *Die Lektionen*, p. 135).

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 166.

⁴⁸ ZEFFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, pp. 143-46.

⁴⁹ MATEOS, *Typicon* I, 176-79.

After each group of three readings there is a Troparion sung (in whole or in part) with a series of psalm verses. Thus we have an alternation between readings and a song-element.

A similar structure is to be observed in the Christmas Vigil⁵⁰ with its *seven readings*. Here, also, the order of the Septuagint is respected with the exception of the third (Mic 4,6 - 5,3) and the seventh (Is 9,5-6) readings, each of which occupies the place of the other.

Gen 1,1-13	Bar 3,36 - 4,4
Num 24,2b-18	Dan 2,31-45
Mic 4,6 - 5,3	Troparion
Troparion	Is 9,5-6
Is 11,1-10	

Once again, the presence of a Troparion and psalm verses between every three readings provides an alternation of liturgical elements.

When we turn to the Paschal Vigil we find that the number of readings has reached *fifteen*. Nonetheless, as at the Epiphany Vigil, the readings which follow the seventh are read only in case there is need to fill in the time during which the patriarch, in this case, baptizes. We also find a song element, at least after the first two groups of three readings. Unlike the Christmas and Epiphany Vigils, however, these chants are, in the first case, a Prokeimenon, and in the second, a scriptural canticle sung with its first verse as refrain. Thus, the more important block of seven readings is here also provided with chants after each group of three readings as in the case of the other Vigils.

As regards the readings which follow the seventh, the presence of the song element is less constant. There is far less agreement of the sources concerning the chants which are found in this second block. None of the Prophetologia, for instance, speak of a Prokeimenon after the tenth reading, as do *H* and *P*. Unfortunately, we do not know what *Dres* has to say here. On the other hand, *Sin* 8 places a Prokeimenon after the ninth reading, while *R* has one after the thirteenth reading. This lack of unanimity serves as one more proof of the fact that these readings following the seventh are of a latter stratum than the first, and were probably not provided with chants in the prototype of the Prophetologia on which the later documents depend.

Thus, as Mateos as pointed out⁵¹, *these vigils of Christmas*,

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 149-51.

⁵¹ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 87, note 1.

Epiphany and Easter had seven readings, to which others were added according to need in the case of the latter two. The fact that the final reading (Dan 3,1-51) with its canticle (*ibid.*, 57 ff.) was read even if the others were omitted suggests that this was originally the OT reading of the Liturgy⁵². This number of seven readings, chosen perhaps because of its sacred character, does not correspond to any of the other traditions which Botte has studied⁵³. These others contain six, ten, twelve, and fourteen readings.

A further peculiarity of the cursus of the Easter Vigil lies in the fact that the order of the Septuagint seems at first sight to be completely neglected. A closer look, however, reveals that there is a tendency to alternate readings from the Historical and Prophetic books in the following order:

1) H(istorical)	6) H (canticle)	11) P
2) P(rophetic)	7) P	12) H
3) H	8) H	13) P
4) P	9) P	14) P
5) H	10) H	15) P

If we consider the order of the Historical and Prophetic books separately, we find a familiar pattern:

<i>Historical</i>	<i>Prophetic</i>
Gen 1	
	Is 60
Ex 12	
	Jon 1-4
Josh 5	
Ex 13-15 reading and canticle	
	Zeph 3
1 Kings 17	
	Is 61,10 - 62,5
Gen 22	

⁵² *Loc. cit.* In this case, however, one wonders why it is begun before the entrance of the patriarch and the newly baptized. Perhaps the fact of its belonging to the Liturgy was lost sight of at a very early date and thus it was linked with the other fourteen readings and placed before or rather during the entrance. In the Jerusalem tradition, however, as far back as the 5th century (*ARM*), the canticle is already linked with the entrance of the bishop and the newly baptized. The difference of locality, however, does not permit us to conclude that the same was necessarily true of Constantinople.

⁵³ Cf. Botte, *Le choix*, p. 68.

	Is 61,1-9
2 Kings 4	
	Is 63-64
	Jer 31
	Dan 3

Thus within each category the Septuagint order is rather well respected, save for Exodus 13-15 (which has perhaps been placed in the sixth position to provide, by means of its canticle, the song element we expect after the second group of three readings) and Is 61,10 - 62,5.

It is perhaps more than coincidence that in the old Jerusalem cursus a similar alternation of Historical and Prophetic books is to be seen:

1) Historical	6) P	11) P
2) H	7) (Job)	12) P
3) H	8) H	
4) Prophetic	9) P	
5) H	10) H	

Here also the Septuagint order is rather well respected within each of the categories:

<i>Historical</i>	<i>Prophetic</i>
Gen 1	
Gen 22	
Ex 12	
	Jonas
Ex 14-15	
	Is 60 (sung as canticle in ARM)
	Job 38
2 Kings 2	
	Jer 30
Josh 1	
	Ezek 37
	Dan 3 (reading and canticle)

In the Historical books only Josh 1 is out of order; in the Prophetic ones, Jonas and Job.

Unfortunately, the other Vigils throw little light on the question of this alternation between Historical and Prophetic books. On the Epiphany there is only one reading from a Prophetic book,

while for Christmas there are only two from Historical books. Thus is it impossible to affirm that the alternation of the two at the Easter Vigil really constitutes an exception to SOPH's usual practice, and that Jerusalem influence is to be seen here.

Another interesting point is that, as in the case of the Epiphany Vigil, the scriptural order of the books is rebegun in the course of the fifteen readings, but not with the eighth reading, as we would expect (this reading presumably representing the beginning of the more recent stratum) but rather with the tenth reading. Perhaps there was a preliminary lengthening of the readings to the number of nine, and only in a subsequent period when five more were added, was the order of books begun anew. Or perhaps it was the eighth and ninth readings which were added in between the seventh and what is today the tenth reading⁵⁴.

4. The Conferring of Baptism

After the first reading the patriarch proceeds to the baptistery for the conferring of this sacrament. With respect to this service and the processions leading to and from the baptistery, *H* and *P* present considerably less detail than *Dres*, and, understandably, the Euchologion of Grottaferrata.

Procession to the Baptistery

From the church it is said that the patriarch goes to the Great Baptistery. The location of this building has been the matter of some disagreement among scholars. Antoniadès, whom Mateos follows⁵⁵, identifies this with the baptistery located on the southwest of the church, whereas the one near the skeuophylakion on the northeast corner he identifies with the small baptistery⁵⁶.

⁵⁴ As our study is limited to considering the history of the evolution of the structure of these offices, we do not propose to enter into the question of the reasons leading to the choice of concrete pericopes on the basis of the pertinence of their content to the theological themes of the Vigil. We wish to point out, however, that KNIAZEFF, *La lecture*, p. 221, following almost literally KARABINOV, *Postnaja Triod*, p. 58 makes the unusual suggestion that Gen 1 and Is 50 are the beginning of cyclic readings from these books which would extend over Paschaltide. In reality, it is just the other way around: Genesis is used for *lectio continua* during the Lenten season (particularly at Vespers), as is Isaiah (at Tierce-Sext).

⁵⁵ ANTONIADES, *Ekphrasis* II, 123-30; MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 85, note 2.

⁵⁶ ANTONIADES, *Ekphrasis* II, 160.

Ebersolt, however, basing himself on the Grottaferrata Euchologion has shown that (during this period, at least) the Great Baptistery is to be identified with the building on the northeast of the church⁵⁷.

His reasoning is as follows. It is clear both from *Dres* as well as from Crypt $\Gamma\beta I$ that the patriarch passed through the skeuophylakion on his way to the baptistery. This building situated to the north of the apse and in close proximity to the northeast baptistery would seem to point to this latter as the Great Baptistery, at least according to the terminology of 11th century (from which period both manuscripts date), for both of these documents speak expressly of the Great Baptistery. A further indication in the same direction is the fact that the church of Hagios Petros is used for the conferring of Myron. Once again, this building was in close proximity to the northeast baptistery, probably to the east of the skeuophylakion. Its use is witnessed to not only by *Dres* and the Grottaferrata document, but also by the Prophetologia *V*. Hence, the return procession would very probably be coming through the north door of the esonarthex and not the south door as Mateos suggests⁵⁸.

Baptism and Myron

The rite of baptism and chrism need not detain us. As regards the procession to the baptistery, *Dres* and Crypt $\Gamma\beta I$ specify that the patriarch changes to a white Sticharion (the Grottaferrata manuscript adds "and white sandals") in the "upper house" (*Dres*) or in the changing room of the Great Baptistery (Crypt $\Gamma\beta I$), before entering the baptistery itself.

After the service of baptism, the patriarch goes with the newly baptized to the church of Hagios Petros for the conferring of the Myron. This indication is absent in *H* and *P*, although we find it not only in the Grottaferrata manuscript and *Dres* but also in the Prophetologia *V* and d2, our best witnesses of the pure Constan-

⁵⁷ EBERSOLT, *Sainte-Sophie*, p. 35, note 1, which provides a handy summary of previous opinions. The baptistery in question is no longer standing. It had perhaps already disappeared even before the Turkish conquest.

⁵⁸ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 89, note 3. It is to be noted that there is a difference of opinion among the authors as to which door is to be identified with the "Beautiful Gate." Cf. EBERSOLT, *Sainte-Sophie*, pp. 4-5, who identifies it with "... la porte principale qui s'ouvrait au milieu de la façade occidentale de l'église "; for ANTONIADES, *Ekphrasis* I, 146-49 and JANIN, *La géographie* III, 477, it is the south door of the esonarthex.

tinopolitan tradition. These latter, however, do not specify that Myron took place there, but simply that the procession into the Great Church comes from there. During the conferring of Myron in St. Peter's, all the Typica as well as Crypt Γ β I testify to the chant of Gal 3,27. *P* adds that afterwards the verses of Ps 92 are sung with the second half of Gal 3,27 as a refrain: "Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε, Ἀληθείᾳ". It is at this point that *Dres* inserts the curious service of Sabba Vespers, which we have already studied.

Procession Back to the Main Church

When the conferring of Myron (or the Vesper service in the case of *Dres*) is completed, the procession from St. Peter's to the Great Church is begun. The joyous character of this procession is brought out by the change in color of the priests' vestments. The patriarch has already changed to white for the baptism itself. The concelebrating priests who are with him in the baptistery change towards the end of the special Vesper service according to *Dres*, while those in the church change during the Daniel canticle.

The chant chosen for the procession is Ps 31. Verse one is used as refrain. The leader of the second choir is assigned to sing the verses. He precedes the patriarch in the procession. *Dres* adds that those other chanters who accompany him sing along with him. *H* says that he entones the refrain "ὅταν κινήσῃ ὁ πατριάρχης μετὰ τῶν νεοφωτίστων τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὴν β' εἰσοδον. In a note Mateos⁵⁹ suggests that the word "eisodon" would be a reference to the door through which they enter at this point, which, he says, would have been the so-called Beautiful Door at the south of the esonarthex. In his *Index liturgique*⁶⁰, however, he suggests an alternative interpretation, that it might also possibly refer to the second entrance of the patriarch into the church. The same *Index liturgique* provides examples of both uses of the word "εἰσοδος" in the course of the Typica.

From the point of view of the terminology used by *H*, the verb "κινῶ" in the expression "ὅταν κινήσῃ ... τοῦ εἰσελθεῖν ... εἰς τὴν β' εἰσοδον" would seem to connote that the patriarch is setting out to make the second entrance. As a matter of fact, it is precisely this impression which we get from Dmitrievskij's paraphrase of *Dres*, namely that the psalm is sung as the procession leaves St. Peter's⁶¹. It would seem incongruous that such an

⁵⁹ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 89, note 3.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 291.

⁶¹ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevneišie*, p. 162.

imposing procession would arrive from the baptistery to the door of the esonarthex in silence. Finally, *Dres* uses the word "eisodos" in this precise sense of "entrance": "Γίνεται δὲ ἡ δευτέρα εἰσοδος οὕτως." ⁶².

From all of this, it would seem more likely that the expression "εἰσοδος" is to be interpreted as referring to the second entrance of the patriarch rather than to some door of the church. It is more difficult, however, to affirm categorically that the chant was begun precisely at St. Peter's, for the original text of *Dres* is not available, and there is a further problem in the fact that only one Stichos is assigned for the entire stretch all the way from St. Peter's back to the narthex of the Great Church. In any case, it is clear enough that by this expression is not meant the exact moment of the entrance, inasmuch as the second Stichos is assigned for this purpose by *H* and the Prophetologion V⁶³. This latter further specifies a third Stichos which would be sung when the chanter arrives at the ambo. *H* and *P* simply link verse 5c and 5d together as the second Stichos.

5. The Witness of Tif 222 Concerning the First Part of the Service

The first of the two texts⁶⁴ we spoke of in our preliminary discussion of this manuscript is entitled "From the service of Great Saturday". Although this heading makes no mention of Hagia Sophia, it nonetheless describes the first part of Holy Saturday Vespers according to the Typicon of the Great Church. It follows this latter textually from the changing of the altar cloths by the emperor⁶⁵ and the incensing of the church by the patriarch

⁶² *Ibid.*, p. 248.

⁶³ Prophetologion V and the Moscow Academy Praxapostolos say it is sung when the chanter arrives at the silver doors. This latter expression is used in *Le livre des cérémonies* I, 38 (Texte II, 2). According to EBERSOLT, *Sainte-Sophie*, p. 3, note 2, this refers to the Royal Doors. *H* says it is sung, "when the patriarch enters."

⁶⁴ Cf. KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĭeskie*, p. 291. This heading is followed by the curious remark: "Kto khočet pust' piset'" (Whoever wishes, let him write). The sense of the phrase is perhaps that the ceremony to be described may be used *ad libitum*.

⁶⁵ The section of the text concerning the changing of the altar cloths is translated by Kekelidze: "... tsar .. peremenjaet oblaĭenie (the emperor ... changes clothes)." Here there is no reference to the altar. It sounds rather that the emperor changes his robes. It is clear, however, from true Constantinopolitan documents that we are dealing with the changing of the altar cloths.

at the sixth hour, all the way through Vespers until the entrance of the patriarch and the newly baptized. From this point on, one is referred to the description of the service previously outlined.

A glance at the Chart C shows that the items presented by the manuscript for Holy Saturday Vespers, while clearly set in the context of a celebration in Hagia Sophia with the assistance of patriarch and emperor, nonetheless betray the influence of Sabbite or at least Studite sources. The mention of the use of black vestments, for instance, found in no other SOPH document reflects the Studite tradition as found in the Italo-Greek documents to be studied later. Further, the reference to *Phos hilaron* seems to situate us in the context of a Palestinian type Vespers. The participation of the priests in the entrance of the patriarch and newly-baptized might also reflect a similar practice found in the Italo-Greek documents. These are the only variants found in this account of Vespers, which set it off from the general testimony of other SOPH documents.

It is possible to consider these variants as items introduced into the liturgy of Hagia Sophia from monastic sources in the course of the 11th century. However, the fact that George composed his Synaxarion around 1042-45 leads us to conclude that the Constantinopolitan document he used for his work would date from some time prior to these dates. Further, the fact that the last mentioned patriarch in the sanctoral section of the manuscript is Anthony II (died 895) seems to indicate that the original with which George was working was drawn up during the reign of Nicholas I (895-906).

It seems unlikely that such variants in a document of this period would truly represent the actual usage of the Great Church. In order to understand the presence of these items in this document we must bear in mind the fact that the point of departure for George's work seems to have been the liturgical practice represented by the Diatyposis of Athanasius. This monastic document makes use of material from the books of the Great Church and sometimes specifically alludes to this fact. In the case of Holy Saturday Vespers, the entire Studite or early monastic tradition follows the Typicon of the Great Church very closely for that part of the service extending from the OT readings to the end of the Liturgy. Thus the only section which George would have found in the Hagia Sophia books which varied from Studite practice would have been this first part of Vespers and the special second entrance of the patriarch with the newly-baptized. This he presents, then, as a kind of supplement. The variations from actual SOPH practice,

which we find there, might be adaptations on his part in view of a possible use in monastic contexts or even in parochial churches in the homeland. He has, however, refrained from a complete modification of the original text, and thus he retains the expressions referring to emperor and patriarch which would not be applicable save in the Great Church.

6. The Liturgy

When the chant of Ps 31 is heard within the church, the canticle of Daniel ceases. When the chanter of Ps 31 arrives at the ambo, he removes his phelonion and goes up to the ambo to replace the chanter of the Daniel canticle. When the patriarch himself arrives in the central doors, he prostrates three times before entering. *Dres* describes this entry in great detail, specifying that a rug is spread on the threshold for the patriarch. It further mentions that he "makes the sign (of the cross) with the candle" and says the prayer of the entrance. He then enters with the Gospel⁶⁶ and what seems to be the candles used in the course of the baptismal ceremonies (*μανουαλίων τῶν φωτισμάτων*, *Dres*). Prophetologia V and d2 specify that he enters with Gospel and Manoualia in silence (in contrast to *Dres*)⁶⁷. *H* and *Dres* mention that twelve bishops enter the sanctuary with the patriarch as he enters (they by the side doors, the patriarch by the Holy Doors). The others come in after the dismissal following the Gospel.

When the patriarch has entered, a sign is given to the chanters, who terminate Ps 31 with a Perisse and, according to *H* and *P*, descend. Then Gal 3,27 is sung in place of the Trisagion the Antiphons of the Liturgy being omitted⁶⁸. According to *Dres* and the Prophetologia this is sung from the ambo. The Prokeimenon is also omitted, save by Sin 7 where it is taken from Ps 26. The Apostle (Rom 6,3-11) is different from that of the early Jerusalem tradition (I Cor 15,1-11). The baptismal theme thus replaces that of the Resurrection.

Following the reading, Ps 81,8 is sung with three Stichoi.

⁶⁶ The word used for the Gospel book is "μεγαλεῖον" (derived from the Hebrew *megilla*, book). Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 306.

⁶⁷ Sin 9 and Sabba 247 speak of the "archbishop" instead of the patriarch, thus betraying adaptation to local circumstances. As *H* and *P*, they also refer to the "second entrance": "... εἰσέρχονται ... εἰς τὴν δευτέραν εἴσοδον." *R* and *F* situate the first Stichos "εἰς τοὺς μέσους πυλῶνας."

⁶⁸ Sin 7 and *F* indicate a prayer of the Trisagion.

This replaces the usual Alleluia. Mateos thus describes the character of this chant: "Jusqu'à ce moment", he writes, "le caractère de la vigile a été purement baptismal. C'est le chant du Ps 81 qui constitue le *praeconium* de la Résurrection, à laquelle se réfère aussi l'Evangile"⁶⁹. As a matter of fact, despite the simplicity of the account of *H* and *P*, the other documents illustrate the solemnity of this moment by a ceremony which is performed during it.

The earliest account of this is found in Constantine VII's *Book of Ceremonies*⁷⁰. In the church of Φάρος, where the emperor assists at the Liturgy, as the chanter is about to begin Ps 81,8, the cubicularii draw aside the outer veils and there appear the golden ones which are underneath them. The text is not clear as to which veils these are. The text of *Dres* is more explicit: "At this same time, the chartularies of the skeuophylakion stand near the altar and remove the plain covering which lies on it, thus revealing the golden one underneath". Although *Dres* dates from a later period than the *Book of Ceremonies*, the rite described might well be the same one.

The witness of Sin 9 and 247, however, shows how in the course of time and in a foreign context, the ceremony lost its original meaning. Here the deacons remove the white cloth spread on the altar, but there is no question of revealing a golden covering underneath. The removal of the altar cloth is given a symbolic interpretation: it is said to represent the rolling away of the stone from the tomb of Christ.

At a later period, even another ceremony is linked with this solemn moment, one which has survived until the present day. In Pseudo-Kodinos⁷¹ the emperor assists at the Liturgy within the palace, not in the palace church, but in some room of his own choosing. During the chant of Ps 81,8 three readers bring laurel leaves from the church and spread them before him. The pages then take some and bring them to the triklinon. The text, unfortunately, does not speak of what happened within the church. Probably the leaves were spread around there, as is done today.

Thus, the chant of Ps 81,8 is indeed enshrined in a solemn context and does seem to be, as Mateos has indicated, a turning point in the thematic content of the service. Previously, the theme of Baptism was predominant in the OT readings, the chants,

⁶⁹ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 91, note 1.

⁷⁰ *Le livre des cérémonies* Texte I, 171-72.

⁷¹ PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité*, pp. 231-32.

and the Apostle; with Ps 81,8 it is the Resurrection which comes into focus. The Gospel, Mt 28,1-20, presents the account of the Resurrection. This pericope was also used in the ancient Jerusalem cursus for the Vigil. Zerfass has suggested that in Constantinople, Matthew was used during the latter part of Holy Week as a kind of *lectio continua*. At Thursday and Friday Vespers pericopes from it are set in the larger context of a long Gospel reading chosen from the accounts of various evangelists. These sections of Matthew, though separated, are presented in regular sequence, and are continued in the reading at Saturday Orthros. They would seem to culminate in the Gospel of the Paschal Vigil: Mt 28,1-20⁷².

According to the Typica the Cherubikon is sung as usual. The Prophetologia do not generally specify anything, in line with the fact that normal practice was adhered to. Sin 14, however, shows Palestinian influence in that it calls for the "Σιγησάτω". It provides the entire text of this chant.

The ancient Koinonikon is Ps 148,1 but the new one refers to the Resurrection. It is a poetic composition inspired by Ps 11,65. Finally, in *Dres* the first tone Resurrection Troparion, "Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος", is sung as the patriarch is accompanied home.

⁷² ZERFASS, *Die Schriftlesung*, pp. 145-46.

CHAPTER FOUR

ORTHROS

1. The General Structure of the Service

The Earlier Documents

The service of Orthros for Easter offers surprisingly few peculiarities. In this it differs sharply from the later Jerusalem tradition as represented by HS 43, where the structure is considerably different from that of ordinary Sundays. In the Constantinopolitan tradition, the structure is clearly that of weekly Sunday Orthros. *H* and *P* limit themselves to providing a few proper elements. Unfortunately, Dmitrievskij does not describe Orthros of the Dresden manuscript.

A priori, one would expect that for this great feast the schema of solemn Orthros (celebrated entirely at the ambo) would have been used⁷³. But here, too, the ordinary Sunday "festive" structure is followed. The nocturnal psalmody is performed in the narthex, while the morning office section beginning with the Canticle of Daniel 3,57-88 is sung in the nave⁷⁴. Thus not even the usual nocturnal psalmody of Sunday (Ps 118 divided into three "Antiphons") is omitted. The Prophetologia are even less explicit. Of the codices studied by Høeg and Zuntz, only the Italo-Greek *F* has anything to say of Orthros, and it simply provides the Troparion for Ps 50: Σήμερον σωτηρία (which is used in the present Byzantine liturgy at Sunday Orthros after the Great Doxology). A special Troparion is provided for the third Antiphon of Ps 118's last two Stichoi (presumably linked with the proces-

⁷³ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 309.

⁷⁴ *Loc. cit.*: cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Drevnešie*, pp. 145-47. He finds a similarity between HS 43 and SOPH in that Orthros begins in the nave in both traditions. In the case of HS 43 and the Sabba tradition as a whole, however, the Troparion with psalm verses would seem to be related more to a procession of entry than to SOPH's nocturnal psalmody, which takes place in the narthex.

sion of entrance of the chanters into the narthex). While this is not one of the proper parts usually indicated for feasts, such a Troparion is assigned for certain other Sundays⁷⁵.

The Traité des offices

The *Traité des offices*⁷⁶ of Pseudo-Kodinos in its chapter on the feasts of Our Lord describes Easter Orthros as celebrated in the church of the palace by the protopriest⁷⁷ with the assistance of the emperor and his ἄρχοντες. The structure of the service is clearly different from that of SOPH: Psalm verses ("ἤτοι τὸ Ἀναστήτω ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς"), with the Troparion, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, in the narthex before the closed doors of the church, Synapte, and entrance into the church with the chanting of the Easter Canon. Although the ceremony is not described beyond this point, this is ample indication that we are dealing with Orthros of the Sabba type. Thus once again we find the infiltration of Sabba — outside the precincts of the Great Church, as usual.

Tif 222

Tif 222, after its description of Orthros for Easter, has a section entitled "Another Service for the Great Week — According to the Ordo of Hagia Sophia". While this description purports to represent the practice of the Great Church for Easter Orthros, we find that *de facto* it does not correspond to what we know of this from the documents we have been studying. The account makes mention neither of patriarch nor emperor but simply of a "bishop or priest".

Another service for the Great Week — according to the ordo of Hagia Sophia. When they begin to ring the bells for Orthros, the priests vest and close the doors of the church; the people gather in the yard (literally: at the fence) of the church, and candles

⁷⁵ MATEOS, *Typicon* II, p. 323.

⁷⁶ Cf. PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité*, pp. 232-37.

⁷⁷ This functionary was one of the staff of the imperial clergy, as we learn from c. VII (cf. PSEUDO-KODINOS, *Traité*, p. 266). There was another protopriest on the staff of the clergy of the Great Church. The same person sometimes held both of these offices together. As regards the location of this function, all the feasts described in Chapter IV are said to be celebrated in the palace (cf. *ibid.*, p. 241). The text sometimes refers to "τοῦ παλατίου ἐκκλησία" (*ibid.*, p. 221), but nowhere do we find a reference, as in *Le livre des cérémonies*, to the church of Φάρος which became, according to Vogt (*Le livre des cérémonies*, Commentaire I, 104-195) the parish church of the emperor.

are lit. The bishop or priest standing with a candle and thurible at the doors says: "Khristos voskrese ...", the people — likewise the same; the priest — "Ispovedajtesja Gospodevi ...". At each Stichos he sings (pripevaet) "i suščim vo grobekh ...". The people answer: "Khristos voskrese ...". At the words — "otverzite mi vrata pravdy ..." the doors of the church are opened and they enter the sanctuary; Slava — "Khristos voskrese ...". Ektenes, "Voskresenija den ..." and the rest of the service of Orthros, at the end of which there takes place the kiss of peace and the reading of the sermon of the Theologian. (i.e. Gregory Nazianzenus) ⁷⁸.

The presence of the Canon situates us once again in the context of a Palestinian or at least Studite type of Orthros. The celebrant is a bishop or priest. In terms of the constituent elements, the only differences from the first service which George outlines for Orthros, are that here the initial *Khristos voskrese* and the Stichoi of Ps 117 (which is begun from the first verse) are sung outside the doors of the church *before* the entrance rather than in the church itself *after* the entrance. According to the first version, this takes place in silence. Verse 19 is used for the entrance. It is to be noted also that the ceremony is attributed to all of Easter week.

As we have said above, this account is found in no other SOPH document which we have studied. It approximates, rather, what is described in the Typicon of the monastery of Evergetes save that it has no initial "Δόξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ...", as does this latter. The other items seem to be the same: Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, Ps 117, vv. 1, 4, and finally v. 19, as the entrance takes place. Evergetes, however, has more verses at various points in the church, which the procession of entry passes. The Typicon of Grottaferrata (Crypt 404) likewise situates its verses of Ps 117 in the narthex *before* the entrance. As a matter of fact, we shall see later that the Studite monastic documents fall into two groups with regards to the entrance: 1) those which describe the entrance as taking place in silence without any initial blessing and which situate the Stichoi of Ps 117 *inside* the church *after* the entrance, and 2) those which, like Evergetes or Grottaferrata, have the stichoi of Ps 117, or the "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη", or at least an initial blessing in the narthex *before* the entrance.

Whatever is to be said about the accuracy of attributing this

⁷⁸ KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĉeskie*, p. 291.

service to Hagia Sophia, George seems to be presenting, above all, two alternative practices found within the early monastic tradition itself.

As we pointed out above, the principal model used by George very probably dated from some time before 906 A. D. In view of this, it seems difficult to believe that a source dating from this period would contain an Orthros service so obviously Palestinian in character, and this in contradiction to the witness of our more dependable sources, *H* and *P*. If there were some concrete items borrowed from what we know to have been the true practice of SOPH for Orthros, we might believe that the text in question was one adapted from SOPH sources for use elsewhere, but the fact of the matter is that *not even one item* described in George's account corresponds to the Orthros of the Great Church. This leads us to suspect that the title indicated in Kekelidze's edition is simply misplaced, either by George himself or by Kekelidze.

One might be tempted to believe that George was using in addition to his main source another SOPH document stemming from the later practise of the Great Church. However, the *terminus ad quem* for such a document would have to be set by the time of George's own elaboration, and this, it would seem, was sometime between the years 1042 and 1045. The witness of *Dres*, as we have seen, however, stems from the first half of the 11th century, and the rites it describes, although betraying some Sabbite influence, do not correspond to those items where George's text departs from SOPH practice. The only other supposition is that the manuscript of the Synaxarion used by Kekelidze for his edition (Tiflis 222) dating from the 12th century, might have been reworked by a later hypothetical editor who would have brought it up to date in the light of later SOPH sources. Here, however, we are truly in the realm of pure conjecture.

Thus unlike the text concerning the Vigil where we found some items truly stemming from SOPH practice (along with others of Sabbite inspiration), the section on Orthros does not contain anything corresponding to SOPH Orthros.

2. The Kiss of Peace

Dres

Following Orthros we have in *Dres* the account of a ceremony which takes place in the patriarchate. As will be seen from Chart C, this consists in the kiss of peace exchanged between the

patriarch and various members of the clergy, first in the small secreton then in the large one ⁷⁹. In each of these places the patriarch first incenses then exchanges the kiss of peace. After he has finished, each group goes to its respective place to listen to the reading of Gregory of Nazianzus' Easter Homily 'Αναστάσεως ἡμέρα. This same homily we will find used in conjunction with the kiss of peace in certain Studite documents ⁸⁰.

Structurally speaking, the parallel here between SOPH and Sabba is striking. In both cases, after Orthros the kiss of peace is exchanged; then an Easter sermon is read. In view of the fact that this ceremony is absent from the other SOPH documents, one is tempted to see here another infiltration of the Sabba Typicon into the liturgy of SOPH ⁸¹. The silence of the other documents, however, which stem from Constantinople, is not conclusive, for the ceremony takes place in the patriarchate, and *H* and *P* along with the Prophetologia do not treat systematically of such ceremonies performed outside the church.

Dmitrievskij finds a parallel of this ceremony in the greeting of the emperor described in the *Book of Ceremonies* of Constantine VII ⁸². *De facto*, although the passage in question is found under the heading of Pentecost, it represents an account of the series of receptions of the emperor along his way to the Great Church for the Easter Liturgy. To some extent, this account parallels a passage inserted (out of place) in Chapter One ⁸³ describing in large measure the same ceremony. Vogt proposes that these two passages would have once formed a whole, describing the feast of Easter ⁸⁴. The general outline of the ceremony is as follows:

Book of Ceremonies I,9

Emperor is greeted and kissed in the triklinon by servants and officers of his usual escort.

Dresden A 104

(Dmitrievskij, *Drevneiše*, pp. 165-67)

Patriarch receives the kiss from the ministers of the cubiculum in the small secreton.

⁷⁹ These σαλόνια were, according to EBERSOLT, *Sainte-Sophie*, p. 26 "salles de réunion".

⁸⁰ Cf. pp. 217-220.

⁸¹ Once again the ceremony in question is situated outside the Great Church itself, as in the other cases we have found of this infiltration.

⁸² Cf. *Le livre des cérémonies* I, 9, Texte I, 56 ff. It will be noticed that the verb is missing from the sentence with which the account begins. The beginning of the text has been lost.

⁸³ *Ibid.*, Commentaire I, 17ff.

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, Texte I, 91, where the differences between the two accounts are described.

Emperor receives kiss from various groups of nobles in the Φίνα (a bower set up in the triklinon).

Each group is led in by the prae-positus and two ostiarii.

After the kiss, each group goes to stand εἰς τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν.

When all are in their place, the prae-positus exclaims: Κελεύσατε.

acclamation of emperor

Emperor vests, then he goes to the Onopodion for the reception by the magistri and proconsuls.

Procession to the Great Church.

Patriarch receives kiss from twelve ministers of the secreton, the metropolitans, the archbishops, and twelve priests in great secreton.

Each group is led in by χαρτοφύλαξ, ὑπομνηματογράφος, and ἱερομνήμων.

After the kiss, each group goes to stand ἐνθεν κάκεισε κατὰ τὰς αὐτῶν τάξεις καὶ σιάσεις.

When all are in place the chartophylax exclaims: Κελεύσατε.

reading from Gregory Nazianzenus

acclamation of patriarch.

Coin is given to reader.

Deutereuontes go to begin the Liturgy.

Apart from the fact that both ceremonies take place roughly at the same time, there are several striking similarities:

- 1) In both cases the greetings are situated in two different places. In the first location lesser functionaries exchange the kiss with the emperor or patriarch; in the second location, it is the more important figures of either the courtly or the ecclesiastical world.
- 2) In the case of the greetings by the notables, each group is led in by three ministers.
- 3) Each group goes to stand in its proper place after the kiss.
- 4) The reception is concluded by an acclamation of either emperor or patriarch.

The one notable difference in the two accounts is the reading from Gregory of Nazianzus, which is completely absent in the courtly ceremonial.

In view of the close parallel between the two accounts, it seems reasonable to assert that both stem from the same ritual organization of greeting. It is more likely that the ecclesiastical

version was patterned on that of the court, because the tenor of the description is that which we usually find connected with imperial receptions.

It should not be lost sight of, however, that the character of the greeting in each case is somewhat different. In the case of the court, we are dealing with a ceremony of reception (*δοχή*) which found a place in the normal course of events in the palace ritual, although the terminology does explicitly speak of a kiss given to the emperor⁸⁵. In the case of the patriarchal ceremony, the giving of the kiss, though set in a context of borrowed courtly ritual, might very well stem in substance from an earlier tradition of the Church of Constantinople concerning a special kiss of peace on Easter.

We have already found this ceremony in the Palestinian tradition. Even as far back as the Sabba ordo of GEORG, we found a reference to the kiss of peace among the brethren after Easter Orthros. Here there was no mention of a reading following it. This appeared once again in Daniel. After Easter Orthros in their metochion, the Sabba monks exchanged the kiss of peace, then went in procession to the Anastasis, where the same ceremony was performed with the Orthodox clergy. In the final redaction of the Sabba Typicon it also found a place and was linked with a patristic reading. As far as the Anastasis itself, even before HS 43 there was mention in GEORG of a kiss of peace exchanged by the clergy⁸⁶ after the initial three processions and before the blessing of the "new candle".

It is thus possible that the custom of exchanging the kiss of peace on Easter belonged to the ancient tradition of both Churches. The reading later associated with it probably stems from monastic influence. In the case of Constantinople this reading is found only in *Dres*, and it might stem from Palestinian influence. In any case, the ceremony as it occurs in *Dres* is set in all the splendor of Byzantine court ritual, whereas in Sabba it is in a monastic context. HS 43's description is too brief to enable us to speak of a possible similarity of tone between it and that of *Dres*.

Pseudo-Kodinos

Pseudo-Kodinos describes a kiss of peace which also takes place in church immediately after Orthros. The emperor, having

⁸⁵ ἀσπάζονται: *ibid.* p. 17, line 30; p. 18, line 13; p. 19, line 3, etc.

⁸⁶ In *S* not only the clergy but the faithful as well participate in the kiss of peace.

venerated the Gospel and the cross and exchanged the kiss of peace with the protopriest and the archdeacon, proceeds to the triklinon where the same ceremony takes place with his ἀρχόντες and the Genoese of Galata, if they are present. The ceremony probably lasted some time, as the Liturgy is begun ἡσυχῶς up until the reading of the Apostle while this is being finished. Thus, by the 14th century, the emperor assisted at the Easter morning celebration in the palace rather than in the Great Church, as had been the custom previously⁸⁷.

⁸⁷ As we pointed out above (cf. p. 77, note 151) Vat Barb Gr 350 (1205 A. D.) and Vat Barb Gr 383 (13th century) both testify to the presence of a Gospel reading at Orthros on Easter Sunday and throughout Easter Week both in Constantinople, as well as in Palestine. As far as we know, this is the only reference to such a practise in Constantinople. Perhaps, we are to see in this an indication that by the beginning of the 13th century, Palestinian influence in the capital was so strong as to cause the introduction of this reading.

CHAPTER FIVE

THE MORNING LITURGY

The Typica *H* and *P* along with the Prophetologia *V*, d2, and *F* indicate the Antiphons for the Liturgy. While the Typica simply indicate which psalm is used in each case, the Prophetologia provide specific Stichoi, which correspond to those in current use, save that, in the third Antiphon, Ps 117, 24 does not appear. It is with the third Antiphon that the famous Easter Troparion, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, occurs for the first time in the SOPH celebrations. Ps 67,27, which is singled out for the moment of the entrance, pertains to the series of verses of this psalm which is being sung precisely as the third Antiphon.

Once again, it is *Dres* which provides a more detailed picture of the ceremonies in its description of the patriarch's meeting of the emperor and their entrance together as Ps 67,27 is sung. The patriarch goes back to the narthex to meet the emperor who kisses the patriarch then the Gospel. They come together hand in hand to the Royal Doors to make the entrance as Ps 67,27 is sung from the ambo. The Metropolitans precede the emperor into the sanctuary and receive him at the Holy Doors. After he enters and venerates various sacred objects in the sanctuary, his pheme is sung by the deutereuon⁸⁸. He then lays down his purse and goes to the apse with the patriarch where he incenses the crucifix⁸⁹. From there he retires to the mitatorion (the section of the church where the emperor changed his robes). Here he "signs with a torch the place where the holy nails are kept."⁹⁰ The patriarch

⁸⁸ *Le livre des cérémonies*, Texte I, 38-40 gives various acclamations for the emperor in connection with the feast of Easter. These, however, are probably linked with the procession of the emperor to the church and his return to the palace.

⁸⁹ The expression, "σταύρωσιν", probably refers to the crucifix in the apse.

⁹⁰ We might have here an allusion to the chapels which were found in the mitatorion. Cf. *Le livre des cérémonies* I, 1 and 37 (28), Texte I, 122 and 147. Other texts (*ibid.*, pp. 58-59; 122-23) describe, first in the context of Christmas (Bk. I, c. 9), then in that of Pentecost (Bk. I, c. 32)

returns to the sanctuary, and a sign is made to the chanters on the ambo, who sing the Doxa, then the Easter Kontakion.

The Kontakion is indicated also in Prophetologia *V* and d2 but not in the Typica *H* and *P*⁹¹. Inasmuch as the use of this chant at the Liturgy was not primitive⁹², *Dres* and the Prophetologia *V* and d2 seem to represent once again a later usage than that of *H* and *P*. There is no clear indication in *Dres* that the "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη" was repeated after the Doxa, but this is almost to be taken for granted. Neither do the Prophetologia mention this repetition after the Doxa. It is to be noted, however, that the Hypacoe which appears in later documents of the Sabba tradition is not present.

As at the Vigil liturgy, Gal 3,27 replaces the Trisagion. The Prokeimenon is from Ps 117. As the first New Testament reading, Acts 1,1-8 is indicated. This is the first section of the book of Acts, which was read throughout the Paschal season in keeping with the ancient tradition of Constantinople⁹³. The Alleluia Stichoi are taken from Ps 101.

The Gospel, John 1,1-17, is read both in Latin and in Greek, and this according to the witness of the three Typica as well as Prophetologia *V*. It is first read by a deacon in Latin. After this initial reading, the archdeacon (*H*: deacon) exclaims: "Σοφία", and the patriarch sings: "Εὐαγγέλιον παῶσι". After the response of the choir and the call to attention of the archdeacon (*H*: deacon), the patriarch begins the reading of the Gospel in Greek from his throne. From the ambo a deacon (according to *H*; *P* has: the Greek deacon; *Dres*: the sakkelarion or some other one appointed) reads the same Greek text along with the patriarch, but in a louder voice.

This practice parallels what we found in the Jerusalem tradition as represented by HS 43, where the patriarch and the deacon read the Gospel together on Easter morning. Here however, there was no preliminary reading in Latin. As regards Constantinople

the ordinary festal entrance of the emperor for the Liturgy. This parallels closely the account of *Dres* for the emperor's entrance at Easter, save that in the former descriptions the emperor brings two discoi and two chalices as offerings. He unfolds the two eileta and lays these on the altar, all of this before venerating various objects in the sanctuary. Perhaps this presentation of discoi and chalices is taken for granted by the Easter account of *Dres*.

⁹¹ Prophetologia *F* indicates instead, the Troparion Σήμερον σωτηρία used at ordinary Sunday Orthros.

⁹² MATEOS, *Evolution historique*, pp. 10-12.

⁹³ Cf. p. 109, note 1.

itself, the custom of having the bishop read the Gospel on Easter day goes back at least to the time of Sozomen, who relates that this custom was practised on all the greater feasts⁹⁴. The purpose of the double reading by the patriarch and deacon was perhaps a practical one. The distance of the patriarch's throne from the assembly was considerable, and it would have been difficult to follow the text as he read. The simultaneous reading by the deacon from the ambo would have remedied this situation. The remark, which we found in *H* and *P*, that the deacon was to read in a loud voice, seems to point in this direction. The reading in Latin is found only on Easter, but it might have been more frequent at an earlier period, in line with the mystique of Constantinople as the new Rome. *H* and *P* are alone in specifying that the Cherubikon is sung three times. The Koinonikon $\Sigma\omega\mu\alpha$ $\chi\rho\iota\sigma\tau\omicron\upsilon$ is indicated by *H*, *P*, and the Prophetologia. Dmitrievskij is not explicit as regards *Dres*.

⁹⁴ SOZOMENOS, *Historia Ecclesiastica*, col 1477 A, cited by MATEOS, *Typicon* I, 259, note 1. Codex Auct. E. 5 10 of the Bodleian Library, another Typicon of the Great Church, witnesses to this practice in connection with the Christmas Liturgy, during which the patriarch reads the Gospel. (Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* I, 152, critical apparatus for line 13.) In the case of Easter itself, *H* says that when the Annunciation falls on the same day, a priest reads the Gospel rather than the deacon during the Liturgy celebrated in the Chalkoprateia. (Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* I, 256-59).

CONCLUSIONS

Development of the Liturgy over the Centuries

Already in the fifth century we get a glimpse of the celebration of the Paschal Vigil with its readings and baptisms. Situated in the evening hours, it lasted until the first cockcrow, according to Palladius. From Proclus we learn that Mt 28 was already the Gospel pericope for the Vigil Liturgy and that Ps 31,1 was also probably in use at some point during the service.

The later documents, of a properly liturgical character, describe the ceremonies in great detail, but, as we have pointed out, are, for the most part, concentrated between the 9th and 11th centuries. The great sweep of development which we were able to trace in the Jerusalem liturgy does not find a parallel in the available SOPH documents.

We have found that the services at Hagia Sophia were, *structurally* speaking, simpler than those of Jerusalem, notwithstanding the fact that the presence of the emperor and his court in the capital gave rise to a certain ritual splendor. The Vigil and Orthros fit perfectly into the normal schemas for a Paramone and solemn Orthros, respectively. As regards the Vigil, while the service of baptism has given rise to several proper items, and the Paschal "praeconium" (with the ceremony which accompanies it) replaces the normal Alleluia, the OT readings are reducible, as Mateos has shown, to the pattern of seven pericopes found also at Christmas and Epiphany. The kiss of peace which appears in *Dres* after Orthros is performed in the patriarchate and does not change the normal Orthros structure. The morning Liturgy presents nothing out of the ordinary, save for the simultaneous reading of the Gospel by patriarch and deacon. But even here we find that according to Sozomen the practice of having the bishop read the Gospel was normal on all the great feasts. The entrance of the emperor and patriarch (described by *Dres*) correspond in their general lines to other similar entrances found in the *Book of Ceremonies* for Christmas and Pentecost.

Of the special Lucernarium for Holy Saturday, there is no trace in the Paramone itself. Only in the ceremony following the

changing of the altar cloths at the sixth hour of Holy Saturday do we find what seems to be the debris of certain elements which recall the special Lucernarium of Jerusalem and Antioch. Whatever may have been the primitive place of these items, by the 9th century they had been excluded from the context of the Vigil itself.

Despite the fine distinctions drawn by Dmitrievskij and Baumstark between the different periods in which the influence between Constantinople and Jerusalem varied according to which city was predominant (liturgically speaking) at a particular time, it is difficult to point with certainty to any individual ceremony in the SOPH celebration of Easter, which clearly stems from the influence of the Jerusalem Cathedral Liturgy. The point which seems most possible is the correspondence between the incensations of HS 43 after the OT readings and those which take place at the sixth hour of Holy Saturday in SOPH. Here, however, as we pointed out above, we are dealing with a ceremony only imperfectly preserved in SOPH, where it has been cut off from the context of the Vigil itself. The only other item that might have come from Palestinian influence is the kiss of peace after Orthros. But this is by no means proven. What is more certain is that, structurally, it seems to have been patterned on the ritual of the court.

The principal source of development within the SOPH tradition, as we were able to study it, lay in the adoption of Sabba elements in the course of the service. With the 11th century (*Dres*) we find 1) the introduction of the first part of Sabba Vespers in the church of Hagios Petros, and (with some probability) 2) the reading of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homily in connection with the kiss of peace. Finally, by the time of the 14th century treatise of Pseudo-Kodinos, we find that 3) the Sabba Orthros with its peculiar shape has made its way even into the imperial chapel.

Certain other items which appear in the course of the history of the development of these Paschal offices, but which do not seem to stem from Palestinian influence are the following points from Pseudo-Kodinos:

- 1) A new ceremony is linked with the chant of Ps 81,8: laurel leaves are brought from the church and spread before the emperor.
- 2) The emperor no longer assists at the morning Liturgy in Hagia Sophia but rather in the palace itself.

The case of such documents as Sin 14 and Codex 102 of the former St. Petersburg National Library which blend elements from both SOPH and Jerusalem (Ps 85 and Ps 103; single refrain for Ps 140 and Stichera for the final verses of the psalm) do not really

enter into consideration as these were not actually used in Hagia Sophia but were rather simply SOPH books adapted for other situations. The items found in the *Synaxarion* of George Mtatsmindeli, moreover, are too uncertain to permit us to affirm that they really correspond to the true practice of the Great Church, even at a later period.

The differences between the various documents we have studied are, however, not limited to items stemming from different periods of liturgical practice but also stem from a *different emphasis* of the various types of liturgical books. Thus, the Typica provide general information for the performance of the services. The Euchologion of Grottaferrata describes Baptism and Myron in more detail. The courtly rituals, naturally enough, stress the details of the emperor's participation in the services (as does *Dres*). The Prophetologia, finally, are designed above all for the reader, providing him, for instance, with the precise Stichoi of the Antiphons of the Liturgy, whereas the Typica simply limit themselves to pointing out the psalms to be used.

SECTION THREE

THE MONASTIC TRADITION

SECTION THREE

THE MONASTIC TRADITION

INTRODUCTION

THE PRINTED TYPICON OF 1545

Before considering the various witnesses to the Studite and Sabba traditions, we propose to present a description of the Easter services in the document which we have chosen as the term of our study, the early printed version of the Typicon of Sabba produced at Venice by the de Sabio brothers in 1545¹. This work is among the earliest if it is not actually the earliest of the printed Typica. The present description preceding rather than following that of the manuscript tradition, will save us much repetition by enabling us to compare the earlier practice of both Studite and Sabba traditions with this printed document before coming to a final synthesis of the historical development of the different traditions. This printed Typicon will henceforth be referred to as "the Model."

I. Vespers

From the Beginning until the Entrance

Around the tenth hour, Vespers are begun in the usual way: Ps 103, great Synapte, Ps 140, etc. There is no variable psalmody. At the last verse of Ps 140, all of the priests and deacons vest, and the Proskomide is performed. Nine Stichera are sung with the Vesper psalms: the four Anastasima of the first tone, followed by three others: "Σήμερον... συνέφερε μοι" (which is sung twice), Σήμερον... κατελύθη, and Σήμερον... κατεπόθη. Δόξα. Τὴν σήμερον μυστικῶς... (which had been used after the Doxa of the Ainoi in the morning). Καὶ νῦν. Τὴν παγκόσμιον δόξαν. (Doxastikon Anastasimon of the first tone.)

The Entrance and the Readings

The Gospel is carried in the entrance. "Φῶς ἱλαρόν" is sung, but there is no Prokeimenon. The fifteen readings of the Constan-

¹ Typicon, Venice 1545.

tinopolitan cursus follow, but the only song element present is the canticle of Daniel (Dan 3,57-88) which is sung no longer with the scriptural refrain, "Ὑμνεῖτε", but with a slightly adapted one: "Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε εἰς πάντας τοὺς αἰῶνας".

The Liturgy of Saint Basil

After the verses of the Daniel canticle the little Synapte is sung. Instead of the Trisagion, Gal 3,27 is sung. The Prokeimenon is Ps 65,4 with verse one as Stichos. The Apostle and Gospel are those of the Constantinopolitan cursus. Instead of the Alleluia, Ps 81,8 is sung with Stichoi: 1) *ibid.*, v. 1; 2) *ibid.*, v. 2; 3) *ibid.*, v. 3; 4) *ibid.*, v. 5a; 5) *ibid.*, vv. 5b-6. These latter are sung by the reader. Instead of the Cherubikon there is indicated ("εἰ θέλεις"): "Συγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ". The Koinonikon is "Ἐξηγέρθη ὡς ὁ ὑπνῶν Κύριος". The Apolysis takes place at about the second hour of the night².

2. Meal, Reading from Acts, Pannychis

After the Apolysis, the priest distributes the Antidoron. There follows a blessing of bread and wine, after which the monks sit in their stalls in the church and receive from the cellarer a light meal consisting of figs, dates, bread, and wine. During the meal the Book of Acts is read. Afterwards, all the candles are lit, and the semandra are rung. The Pannychis is celebrated: fixed opening section, Ps 50, Canon of Holy Saturday (the Heirmoi being sung twice, and the Troparia four times.) After Ode 3, the Kathisma of Holy Saturday, "Τὸν τάφον σου", is sung, and there is a reading from Pseudo-Epiphanius, "Τί τοῦτο"³. After Ode six the Kontakion of Holy Saturday, "Τὴν ἄβυσσον", is sung with its Oikos, and there is another reading, this time unspecified. After Ode 9, there follow the Trisagion, the Apolytikion, "Ὅτε κατήλθες", the Ektenes, and the Apolysis.

² During the Middle Ages the calculation of the hours of night was based on a division of the time between sunset and sunrise into twelve equal periods. Thus the length of these "hours" varied with the seasons of the year. The sixth hour, however, was fixed at midnight. Cf. Dom S. BAÜMER, O. S. B., *Histoire du bréviare*, Paris, 1905, pp. 25-28.

³ This homily (*II in Sabbato magno*, MG 43, 439-64) is, according to QUASTEN, *Patrology III*, 395, not among the authentic works of Epiphanius of Salamis (c. 315-403).

3. Orthros

Preparations in the Narthex, and the Entrance

After the Apolysis of the Pannychis all go to the narthex. The candlelighter remains in the church to light all of the candles. He also places a fixed incense burner in the middle of the church, and another before the holy doors. He burns incense in them. The priest vests in white in the diakonikon, then proceeds to the narthex, coming along the north side of the church incensing. He is preceded by two lamps. Upon arriving there, he incenses all the assistants. The higumen meanwhile distributes candles to all; they are lit. The priest then making a sign of the cross with the censer sings: "Δόξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ καὶ ὁμοουσίῳ καὶ ζωοποιῷ καὶ ἀδιαιρέτῳ Τριάδι..." After the response, "Amen", he sings the Easter Troparion, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη", three times. It is repeated three more times by the assistants. The priest then sings the following Stichoi, to each of which the assistants respond with the Troparion: 1) Ps 67,2; 2) *ibid.*, v. 3ab; 3) *ibid.*, vv. 3c-4a, Δόξα, Troparion, Καὶ νῦν, Troparion. The priest then repeats the first half of the Troparion (through the word, "πατήσας") in a louder voice. The assistants respond with the second half. The doors are then opened, and the priest enters preceded by lamps and followed by the higumen and the brethren. He enters the sanctuary and sings the great Synapte from within.

The Canon and The Ainoi

The Canon is begun by the proestos. The Heirmoi are sung twice, the Troparia six times. After each Ode, the little Synapte is sung from within the sanctuary. The Ekphonesis for each is given in its proper place. After the Synapte following the third Ode, the Hypacoe, "Προλαβοῦσαι τὸν ἔρθρον", is sung. After the Synapte following the sixth Ode, the Kontakion, "Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ", is sung with its Oikos. There is then a reading from St. Gregory of Naziansus, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα", (MG 35, 395-402). This in turn is followed by the "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι". Finally, after the little Synapte following the ninth Ode, the Exapostelaron, "Σαρκὶ ὑπνώσας", is sung three times. There follow immediately the Ainoi with the four Anastasima Stichera of the first tone. Afterwards, there is a series of Stichoi sung with the "Paschal Stichera".

Ps 67, v. 2	—	Πάσχα ἱερὸν
<i>ibid.</i> , v. 3ab	—	Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θεάς
<i>ibid.</i> , vv. 3c-4a	—	Αἱ μυροφόραι γυναῖκες
Ps 117, v. 24	—	Πάσχα τὸ τερπνόν
Δόξα	—	Πάσχα τὸ τερπνόν
Καὶ νῦν	—	Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ λαμπρυνθῶ- μεν τῇ πανηγύρει

Kiss of Peace and Conclusion

The kiss of peace is exchanged at the door of the sanctuary between priest, deacon, proestos, and the brethren. After kissing the Gospel, each one kisses first the priest, then the proestos, then the rest of the brethren. During this ceremony, the Troparion, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη" is sung. Afterwards, the proestos reads the "κατηχητικὸν λόγον" of Pseudo-Chrysostom⁴. Finally, there is the Ektenes and the Apolysis.

4. Morning Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom

The propers of this morning Liturgy all correspond to those of the Typicon of the Great Church (cf. Chart C), save for the following items:

1) The Stichoi of the Antiphons are specified:

Antiphon I:	1) Ps 65, v. 1b
	2) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 2
	3) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 3
	4) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 4

Antiphon II:	1) Ps 66, v. 2a
	2) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 2b
	3) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 3
	4) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 4

⁴ This homily entitled "κατηχητικός" along with the seven others with which it is associated seem to be the work of one author. They have been placed by Migne among the *spuria* of Chrysostom. (MG 59, 721-756). Although this verdict of non-authenticity is common among the authors who treat of the collection as a whole (cf. QUASTEN, *Patrology* III, 470-71) they seem to mention explicitly only the seven numbered homilies as constituting the collection. A. HAMMAN, *Prières des premiers chrétiens*, Paris, 1952, p. 419 refers to the *katechetikos* as the work of an author inspired by Hippolytus of Rome. Cf. also p. 218, note 55.

Antiphon III:	1) Ps 67, 2a
	2) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 2b
	3) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 3ab
	4) <i>ibid.</i> , vv. 3c-4a

2) After the Eisodikon and the Troparion, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη", the Hypacoe, "Προλαβοῦσαι", and the Kontakion, "Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ", are sung. It will be remembered that even *Dres* and the *Prophetologia V* and d2 already add this latter item.)

3) Only the first Stichos of the Prokeimenon is indicated.

4) There is no trace of the special reading of the Gospel by both celebrant and deacon. The pericope, however, is the same.

5) The Easter Troparion, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη", replaces

- α. Εἴη τὸ ὄνομα
- β. Εὐλογήσω τὸν Κύριον (Ps 33)
- γ. Ὑψώσω σὲ ὁ θεός μου (Ps 144)⁵

⁵ This term coming after the Liturgy is probably to be identified as part of the "Typica" which followed the Liturgy in monasteries.

Part One

THE STUDITE TRADITION

CHAPTER ONE

DOCUMENTS OF THE STUDITE TRADITION

Before approaching the study of the various branches of the Sabba tradition, there is another group of Typica which must claim our attention. Just as the Typicon of Sabba was to gain predominance in the monasteries of the Byzantine empire from the twelfth century, so at an earlier period (corresponding roughly with the 11th and the beginning of the 12th century) the Typicon of Theodore Studite exerted a similar influence throughout the Byzantine monastic world⁶.

A comparison between these two monastic traditions, however, shows that they are very close. Skaballanovič has suggested that the liturgical reform of Theodore for the Stoudion must have involved the adoption of certain Palestinian elements⁷. The presence of hymnody of Palestinian origin (eg., that of John Damascene) even before Theodore's time, however, shows that this influence already existed to some extent. Baumstark has pointed out that the two monasteries were linked together in two ways. First of all, while the monks of Sabba led the battle in favor of the icons during the first period of the iconoclastic controversy (727-787), it was the Studion which continued the fight during the second phase under the Isaurians (795-815). Secondly, the Studites were to continue the composition of liturgical poetry begun by the Sab-bites⁸. This relationship between the two monasteries is reflected in their respective Easter services, which, though they show some interesting variations, are, nonetheless, of similar structure.

Under the general heading of "Studite tradition" we intend to study not only those documents which in some measure stem

⁶ SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon* I, 395.

⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 395-96.

⁸ BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 22-23.

from the actual practice of the Stoudion, but also those which show concrete influence of its liturgical ordo. Among these, there are those of the early Athonite tradition, as represented of the *Diatyposis* of St. Athanasius and the *Synaxarion* of Iviron of George Mtatsmindeli; the Italo-Greek monastic Typica of South Italy and Sicily along with other liturgical documents corresponding to them; and the Typica of the Constantinopolitan monasteries of Evergetes and the Dormition of the Theotokos. An early Sinai document is also included in this group because of its similarities to Studite practice.

The liturgical books other than Typica rarely make mention of the monastery in which they were copied or the Typicon to which they correspond. This presents little problem in the case of the Grottaferrata or Athonite collections. In the case of the Vatican codices, however, we might well question the exact origin of the documents. The examination of these manuscripts has enabled us, however, to compare their content with those which are clearly of Studite origin. It is on the basis of this comparison that we treat of them in this Section.

1) Sin 150 *Κανονάριον* σὺν Θεῷ ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τὸ "Ἁγίον Πάσχα 10th-11th century, bound together with an Evangelary which bears the number Sin 150.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 28; MANSVETOV, *Ustav*, pp. 69-70; SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, pp. 398-399; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. 172-221, who reproduces the entire text with variants from an earlier *Kanonarion* found among the debris in the library of the monastery; this latter dates from the 9th-10th century.

Studied in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. 173-174 (Easter); 192-93 (Holy Saturday). Easter appears only in the later codex. For Holy Saturday there are no significant differences between the two codices, save that the older one finishes at the Gospel; thus it does not indicate the Koinonikon.

The various scholars who have studied this document have found traces of the influence of widely divergent liturgical traditions in its services. ARCHIMANDRITE SERGIJ, *Polnij Mesjatsoslov*, I, 75, found Western influence in certain of the saints mentioned in the sanctoral part. Skaballanovič (pp. 398-99, note 2) on the basis of this has even suggested that the document might have originated in South Italy or Sicily. The Apparition of St. Michael on Monte Gargano, for instance, is commemorated on May 8. Dmitrievskij, for his part (p. X), has found traces of influence of

the Typicon of the Great Church and provides a list of feasts where this is evident. Skaballanovič (pp. 398-99) while admitting this influence of the Typicon of the Great Church with regard to certain aspects of the sanctoral section, points to still another influence visible in the document, that of the Sabba and Studite traditions, and this precisely in the structure of the daily offices, where the *Kanonarion* differs from the SOPH tradition. Due to the sketchy nature of the document, however, his judgement is based on the Easter Orthros service and is, perhaps, somewhat too sweeping. As regards the feast of Easter itself, the observation is completely valid. A closer look shows that the structure of this latter service bears striking resemblance to the Studite documents mentioned above.

As in the case of the Hypotyposis and the Diatyposis the ordo begins with a treatment of Easter. Mansvetov, pp. 69-70 points out that the document was designed for use in a non-monastic context, however. The chief celebrant of the Easter services is, nonetheless, a priest and not a bishop. A final remark seems in order. The presence of the Gospel reading at the end of Orthros (an item which never made its way into the purely Sabbite tradition) seems to point to the influence of the practice of the Cathedral rite of Jerusalem.

2) Vatop 322 (956) Ὑποτύπωσις σὺν Θεῷ καταστάσεως μονῆς τοῦ Στουδίου 13th-14th century.

SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, p. 397; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. XII-XXXI; 224-38, who presents the text along with variants of Vat Gr 2029, published earlier in CARDINAL MAI, *Nova Patrum Bibliotheca*, V, 111-15 and later reproduced in MG 99, 1704-20.

Studied in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. 225-27 (Easter); 232 (note to the effect that Compline is not sung); 235 (brief remark on Saturday Vespers and the meal which follows).

3) Ivir 754 (228) Διατύπωσις τοῦ ὁσίου καὶ μακαρίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Ἀθανασίου. 16th century.

SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, p. 398; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, 238-56 who reproduces the text. He was the first to publish the Greek original. Previously there was only a faulty Slavic translation. Under the *Errata* for pp. 238-256 he provides corrections from the text as edited by MEYER, *Haupturkunden*, pp. 130-90. This latter in preparing his edition of the liturgical section of the

document used Ivir 754 but affirms that his friend, the monk Chrysostom of Lavra, compared the text of the Iviron manuscript with that of two 11th century codices of the skeuophylakion of Lavra and found that there were no variants. (cf. MEYER, *op. cit.*, pp. 271-73). Under Dmitrievskij's *Errata*, there are no significant changes in the portions of the text which concern us. Dmitrievskij also refers to another 11th century manuscript (Sin 401) which he did not have sufficient time to study thoroughly. In his edition he presents variants from a 17th century manuscript of the monastery of Panteleimon on Athos, which he does not identify precisely (cf. pp. XXXII and 239, note 1), and from a manuscript of the Cairo Patriarchate (p. XXXII) likewise unidentified and which, *de facto*, is nowhere referred to in his presentation of the text itself. Finally EUSTRATIADIS, *Catalogue Lavra*, p. 369, speaks of Codex Lavra 1976 as being an 18th century copy of the Diatyposis. A note in the manuscript says that it was copied from an older manuscript which was worn with age.

Studied in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, 246 (Easter); 253 (brief remark on Saturday Vespers and the meal which follows).

Both the Hypotyposis and the Diatyposis show striking similarities, and there is great probability that the work of Athanasius is based on that of Theodore. Both documents contain disciplinary as well as liturgical sections. The liturgical one begins in each case with Easter and limits itself to providing brief notes on certain great feasts rather than describing the daily cursus of liturgical services. Apart from the question of the relative fidelity with which these late copies reproduce the original manuscripts in each case, the attribution of the Diatyposis to Athanasius stands a better chance of being accurate than that of the Hypotyposis to Theodore. BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, p. 24 sees in this latter a secondary redaction of the content of an earlier liturgical document of Theodore himself.

DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. XIV-XXIV points out the significant differences between the two redactions of the Hypotyposis as represented by Vatop 322 and Vat Gr 2029. In contradistinction to this latter, Vatop 322 shows greater organization of the material with better correspondence between chapter headings and content. It also has fewer useless repetitions, and its spelling is better. The liturgical content also differs to some extent. The blessing of the water on the Epiphany is closer to current practice. There is no mention of the eating of eggs, cheese, and fish after the Holy Saturday Liturgy. The text is longer, also. Thus, we find a fuller description of the kiss of peace after Easter

Orthros, fuller details of the Easter morning Liturgy, and additional services on Easter Monday and Tuesday.

A comparison between these two redactions of the Hypotyposis and the Diatyposis show that the latter is more closely related to the Hypotyposis redaction of Vat Gr 2029. We have, however, another document which follows the redaction of Vatopedi 322 and enables us to date it more accurately. It is the following.

4) MS 380, 330. *Typicon of Patriarch Alexis*. 12th-13th century.

SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, pp. 399-401; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. XI-XXXIII, who presents the text on Easter Orthros in parallel columns with those of the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis. Variants from Codex St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy 1136 of the 13th century are indicated in the notes, but for our purposes there are no significant differences between the two.

Studied in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. XXIV-XXX.

This Typicon was composed by Patriarch Alexis of Constantinople for the monastery of the Dormition of the Theotokos, which he founded near Constantinople in 1034 A.D. It is of Studite inspiration, as will be seen from the comparative tables of Dmitrievskij. It also contains a disciplinary part as in the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis, but the liturgical material is more vast than in either of the other two documents. In this it resembles the Evergetes Typicon and those of the Italo-Greek monasteries. Dmitrievskij, (pp. XXIV-XXV) shows in his comparative tables that the text on Easter Orthros shows a greater affinity to the Vatopedi 322 redaction of the Hypotyposis, while the Diatyposis resembles that of the Vat Gr 2029 redaction. The text exists only in a Slavic translation (as far as we know) in various codices dating from the 11th to the 15th century (cf. SKABALLANOVIČ, pp. 400-401, note 1). Thus, on the one hand we have Vat Gr 2029 and Ivir 754, and on the other, Vatopedi 322 and Moscow Ecclesiastical Academy 380-330. Basing himself on these similarities Dmitrievskij judges the redaction of Vat Gr 2029 to be the more primitive, inasmuch as the Diatyposis which resembles it (presumably in a relation of dependence) must have been drawn up before Athanasius' death sometime between 997 and 1011. Vatopedi 322 must have appeared not later than the first half of the 11th century, as the Typicon of Alexis which depends on it must have been written around 1034 when the main church of the monastery was consecrated.

5) Ath 788 Συναξάριον ... ἡτοι Τυπικόν ... τῆς μονῆς τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου τῆς Εὐεργετίδος. 12th century.

SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, pp. 402-403; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. XXXIII-LIII; 256-656 which presents the entire text; *id.*, *Typica Addenda* pp. 544-45; *id.*, *Khilandarskij Sinaksar*, p. 473, note 1.

Studied in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. 555-559 (Holy Saturday Vespers and Easter Sunday).

Once again we are dealing with a monastic Typicon. As in the cases of the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis, it stems from the first period of the monastery's history. While in the former two cases the Typicon is linked with the very founder (in name, at least in the case of the Hypotyposis), the composition of the Evergetes Typicon is attributed to its second Abbot, Timothy. The founder and first Abbot, Paul, had established the community in the suburbs of Constantinople in 1048.

Although the manuscript that has come down to us seems to have been written in the twelfth century (and in this it is unlike the manuscript copies we have of Hypotyposis and Diatyposis which date from considerably later), there are traces of a second redaction in its text. The Feast of Paul and Timothy himself, for instance, is celebrated on April 16. Further, Skaballanovič (p. 403) has pointed out the presence of a commemoration of Lazarus of Mount Galesius near Ephesus († 1053). The name of this saint, however, is found for the first time only in 12th century Menaia. Yet, the "editor" of the second redaction tells us that he was acquainted with Timothy. Thus we are not far from the period in which the Typicon was composed.

There are other items, moreover, which enable Dmitrievskij to fix the dates of this composition more precisely. First of all, in the course of the text, we find the mention of a monastery of "Manuel" (*Typica* I, p. 614). He supposed in his earlier study (*ibid.*, p. XXXIX) that the "Manuel" in question was the emperor Manuel Comnenus (1143-1179). In a later study (*Typica Addenda*, pp. 544-45), however, he revised his opinion on this point and identified Manuel with the nobleman of this name who was the tutor of Michael II (855-67). Secondly, the Typicon of the monastery of Saint Mamanta refers in its text to the Typicon of Evergetes. As this Typicon stems from 1158, Dmitrievskij was able to set this date as a *terminus ad quem* for the elaboration of the Typicon of Evergetes. Finally, in a still later study (*Khilandarskij Sinaksar*, p. 473, note 1) he was able to set this terminus

further back due to his acquaintance with the Typicon of the Monastery of Θεοτόκου Κοσμοσωτήρας of 1152, which is almost identical to that of Evergetes. Thus the first redaction of the Typicon by Timothy must have stemmed from the first half of the 11th century, and the later redaction, from around the first half of the 12th.

Just as this Typicon was to exert its influence on the liturgical practice of other monasteries such as Saint Mamanta, that of τῶν Ἁγίων Βωμῶν and the Athonite monastery of Chilandar (whose first Typicon is attributed to Sabba the Slav), so too it betrays the influence of various other liturgical traditions. Apart from certain items borrowed from the practice of the Great Church (cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, p. XLII) there is clearly a preponderant Studite influence at work. Dmitrievskij, however, indicates concrete examples of where it expressly departs from Studite practice (p. XLIII). BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, p. 24 shows, for his part, how predominant the influence of Sabba is.

Unlike the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis, the liturgical content of this Typicon is of a highly detailed character.

6) Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum Codices 193 (11th century), 222 (beginning of 12th century), 839 (date not given by Kekelidze) Imperial Public Library Codices 171 (12th century) 572 (14th century) *Synaxarion of George Mtatsmindeli*.

KEKELIDZE, *Liturgičeskie*, pp. 228-313; 478-506 who presents the text of this most interesting document according to the first two of the aforementioned codices. The first is used for the basic text, but, inasmuch as it is incomplete for Lent and Easter, the second replaces it for this section. Variants from the other codices are indicated in the footnotes.

Material used: KEKELIDZE, *Liturgičeskie*, pp. 290-93 (Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros, Easter Liturgy).

In the Georgian Church after an initial period in which the liturgical influence of the Jerusalem Church was predominant, the foundation of the Georgian monastery of Iviron on Mount Athos provided a new liturgical center from which new translations of liturgical books were to reach the homeland. Its Typicon (the present Synaxarion) was eventually adapted in the Georgian Church at Large.

The earliest Typicon of the monastery seems to have been a brief "Synaxarion" drawn up by its second Higumen, Euthy-

mios, son of John its founder. This former ruled from 1002-16⁹. In his *Ierusalimskij Kanonar*, p. 38, Kekelidze reports having found a fragmentary copy of this document in Codex Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum 648. He does not, however, describe its contents.

The elaboration of a more complete Typicon, once again under the title of Synaxarion, was to be the work of St. George Mtatsmindeli during his term as dean of the monastery¹⁰. It is this latter Typicon which is here studied. In structure it resembles the Typicon of Evergetes in that it contains not only a disciplinary part (as do the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis) but also a very detailed liturgical part (unlike the two aforementioned). The various sections are presented in this order: sanctoral cycle, Triodion-Pentecostarion, disciplinary section. While the title of the Synaxarion does not explicitly refer to the monastery of Iviron, certain citations presented by KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĉeskie* (p. 485) make it clear that the book was destined for this monastery.

The source of the Typicon was certainly a Greek document, for George asserts that his work is that of a translator (p. 497). We need not look far for the source of the original. The monastery of Iviron was closely linked with that of Lavra. John, its founder, and Euthymios, his son, were received into the Great Lavra by Athanasius himself when they first arrived on Athos. Further, they are both mentioned in this latter's Diatyposis as possible successors. (cf. DMITRIEVSKIĬ, *Typica* I, p. 240). A comparison of the content of the disciplinary section of the Synaxarion with that of the Diatyposis shows a close relationship between the two, although the Synaxarion sometimes follows the Hypotyposis. The chapters on the celebration of Easter and Lent no longer occur in the same context as in the Diatyposis but have been transferred (without great modification) to the highly developed liturgical section of the Synaxarion.

⁹ These years are based on the calculation of TARCHNIŠVILI, *Geschichte*, pp. 128-129, who cites a later article of Kekelidze in note 5 on p. 128. In his *Liturgiĉeskie*, Kekelidze had set these years as 998-1012. (Cf. *ibid.*, p. 478).

¹⁰ The expression is "dekanosi" according to TARCHNIŠVILI, *Geschichte*, p. 158, note one, who describes its meaning as "... Kirchenleiter und Chorführer in einem Kloster, auch Erzpriester." KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĉeskie*, p. 483 sets the dates of George's term of office as 1038 and 1042 A. D. Tarchnišvili, however, while agreeing that George composed the Synaxarion before becoming higumen of the monastery, sets the years of his office as dean from about 1042 to 1044 or 1045. (p. 116) He presents two texts which show, respectively, that in 1042 he was certainly dean, whereas in 1045 he was already higumen. (p. 160).

A study of the sanctoral cycle (KEKELIDZE, pp. 497-99) shows that the document here follows the Typicon of the Great Church rather closely, adapting it to local needs by the omission of celebrations linked with the local topography of the capital and even by the suppression of phrases in the text which explicitly refer to the "Great Church".

The Triodion-Pentecostarion section of the Synaxarion, however, shows a greater similarity to Studite usage as reflected in the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis. Kekelidze suggests (p. 501) that the reason for this would be that since the model of the Diatyposis had little to say on this section, George would have turned to the practice of the Great Church. In fact, Kekelidze reproduces an interesting passage (pp. 497-98) to the effect that the Synaxarion is unknown to the majority of Greeks, inasmuch as it exists only "... in Hagia Sophia, the Patriarchal churches, and on the Holy Mountain." (Codex Tiflis Ecclesiastical Archeological Museum 97 of the 11th century says instead, "... in Hagia Sophia and in the monastery of Stoudion.") This being the case, one wonders whether the scarcity of liturgical indications in the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis is not based on the fact that much of the material was already provided by the books of the Great Church, particularly the Prophetologion. We will have ample opportunity to see how closely this entire group of documents follows the practice of the Typicon of the capital particularly for the Liturgy. Thus, it is possible that the earlier Studite documents were of the nature of monastic supplements to the service books of the Great Church.

In this Triodion-Pentecostarion section, we find two interesting passages which describe the usage of the Great Church for Holy Saturday (p. 291) and the beginning of Easter Sunday Orthros (p. 293). These items, however, are presented alongside the account destined for the monastery itself. We have already discussed these texts in connection with the SOPH Typicon. Just as this Synaxarion had come to replace the earlier Jerusalem traditions in the liturgy of the Georgian church, so it, too, was to cede its place to the Typicon of Sabba. Introduced first of all into the monastery of Shio-Mgimve in the 12th century, it gradually spread throughout the entire Georgian church, beginning in the thirteenth century. By the fifteenth, the older Synaxarion of George was already obsolete. In Codex Imperial Public Library No. 572 we will have the occasion to see influences of the Sabba tradition on the text of the older Synaxarion itself.

7) Crypt Δ β VIII (300) Triodion. 10th century.

ROCCHI, pp. 357-58. This is the oldest Triodion which we have studied. There are no rubrical indications.

The material studied (ff. 85v-89v) covers only Easter Sunday itself. There are no indications as to Saturday Vespers. The material consists of liturgical poetry, and the order of elements does not correspond to that of the other early Typica in this group. Thus, we have:

Kathisma Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος

Hypacoe Προλαβοῦσαι τὸν ὄρθρον

Stichera for Ps 140 — largely corresponding to those associated with Orthros in other documents

Canon (without interruption for the Kontakion)

(The text following the last Troparion of the ninth Ode is unintelligible.)

8) Crypt E α VII (292) Sticherion. End of the 10th century.

ROCCHI, pp. 414-15.

Material used: ff. 218r-222r which consists only of the text and music for Stichera for Easter Sunday without any further indications of their precise use.

9) Lavra Γ 67 Sticherion. c. 950-c. 1025 A. D. (Strunk)
12th century (Eustratides).

EUSTRATIDES, *Catalogue Lavra*, p. 41; STRUNK, *Notation*, p. 33. Studied from microfilm of Library of Congress collection.

Material used: ff. 70r-74v (Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday).

Strunk who dates Lav Γ 72 and Γ 74 as being not later than 1025 A. D. says that the present document is certainly earlier than these, although it could not be earlier than roughly 950 A. D., as it contains a composition of the Emperor Leo VI (886-912). The musical notation is that of the earlier, so-called Chartres type.

10) Lavra Γ 72 Sticherion. not later than 1025 A. D. (Strunk)
11th century (Eustratides)
12th century (Saunders)

EUSTRATIDES, *Catalogue Lavra*, p. 41; STRUNK, *Specimena*, pp. 9-10. Studied from microfilm collection of Library of Congress collection. Material used: ff. 40-59r (Stichera for Holy Saturday and all of Easter week).

This codex like Γ 74 is the work of the scribe Anthony and probably formed part of a single work consisting of the two manuscripts. This fact enables us to date it, as Γ 74 contains material which points to the period around the end of the 10th century. More precisely, Strunk says that it would date from a period extending from the death of Nikephorus Phokas (969), who is mentioned in this document, to that of Athanasius of Athos (which occurred at some time between 997 and 1011), the commemoration of which is not yet in the body of the text. It has been added by a later hand in an appendix. Strunk says that it could not be later than 1025 A. D. Its musical notation is also that of the Chartres type.

11) Vatop 1488 Sticherion. 11th century (Strunk, Eustratides)
13th century (Saunders)

EUSTRATIDES, *Catalogue ... Vatopedi*, p. 234; STRUNK, *Notation*, pp. 7-10, 25, 33-34.

Strunk points out that this manuscript not only used the earlier, Chartres type of musical notation, but also that of a later period known as Coislin. It is one of the last manuscripts to use the former type and one of the first to use the latter type. The two types of notation are not mixed indiscriminately but are used in two different sections of the manuscript, the Coislin being employed for the Triodion-Pentecostarion section.

Strunk affirms that around 1050 the Sticheraria begin to show great uniformity of content. This version he refers to as the "standard abridged version". Although the present manuscript also has fewer items than earlier manuscripts, nonetheless, about forty percent of its content is not found in later manuscripts. He sees in it an attempt "... to compile a complete Triodion-Pentecostarion by adding to the contents of the standard abridged version a considerable number of items for which this version had found no place." (p. 34) Thus this would presuppose that the standard abridged version was already in circulation at the time of the composition of this manuscript. It further represents earlier practice in that the arrangement of its material for a given feast is according to the order of the service rather than according to mode as would be the case in later documents.

Strunk proposes that the scribe used two different sources for his work: one, a standard abridged Sticherion in Coislin notation and another earlier one in Chartres notation, from which

he borrowed about a hundred Stichera and other Octoechos material. This he then arranged in liturgical order rather than according to mode.

Consequently, this document is clearly of a transitional character. While it is clearly later than Γ 72, it nonetheless is closer to this latter than is the dated manuscript Leningrad 789 (1106 A. D.) of Vatopedi origin which has the fully developed Coislin notation. Thus once again we are dealing with an 11th century manuscript.

One final point concerning Vatopedi 1488 is that the pieces written in the earlier notation are those which were no longer found in the new standard abridged version of the Sticherion, thus suggesting that the two styles of notation were connected with the two versions of the Sticherion, one earlier and the other later. For this reason, the scribe was forced to note Stichera that had disappeared from the current books according to the archaic notation in which alone they were available.

Whence came the impetus for the new version of the Sticherion? The text of this version contains some interesting indications. Strunk points out that the Stichera for the dedication of churches found in various places in earlier manuscripts are all grouped together in the new books under September 13, date of the Dedication of the Anastasis. They further contain Stichera of Sophronius of Jerusalem (634-38) "which appear to have been almost unknown in Constantinople before the 11th century, and whose performance involves liturgical arrangements that conflict with Constantinopolitan practice." (*Notation*, p. 35) All of this seems to point clearly in the direction of Palestinian influence. Along with the new shape of the collection in terms of texts, the musical notation would have also come from Palestine.

While there is less clear evidence with regards to the earlier type of notation and the books in which it is used, Strunk feels that the place of origin would be most likely either Constantinople or Thessalonika. *De facto*, the early Russian neumes seems to have been inspired by the Chartres type of notation rather than later styles. (PALIKAROVA VERDEIL, *La musique byzantine*; cf. especially pp. 132-146). Since the musical books taken by Cyril and Methodius to Slavic lands in 860 A. D. would have stemmed from one of these centers, it would seem that the Chartres notation originated or at least was in use there.

More important for our purposes is the fact that the use of the earlier type of notation in these three manuscripts points to an earlier period in Athonite liturgical history, one which preceded

the wave of Palestinian influence of the abridged Sticheraria and the new musical notation. As a matter of fact, the content of these manuscripts for the Easter services seems to tally with that of the other Studite sources.

12) Vat Pius II Gr 30 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 11th century.

STEVENSON, *Codices Pii II*, pp. 154-55.

Material used: 213r-217r (Holy Saturday Vespers; Easter Orthros and Liturgy). Here we have some rubrical indications of the general outline of Holy Saturday Vespers and Liturgy. For Orthros it gives only the poetic texts.

13) Vat Gr 771 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 11th century.

Codices Vat Gr III, 286-87.

Material used: ff. 192r-200v (Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros and Liturgy).

The rubrical material is rather detailed for the opening section of Orthros. For Saturday Vespers however only the Stichera for Ps 140 are given without further indications. It contains a massive collection of Stichera for Easter "morning" without further determination of their exact use.

This codex is probably the one used by Vitali for the appendix to his 1738 Roman edition of the Pentecostarion in which he provides various poetic material from what he calls Codex Crypt C 24. A comparison of the material in this manuscript and that reproduced in the appendix of his edition shows it to be practically speaking identical. Inasmuch as there is no other codex in the present Grottaferrata library which comes anywhere as close to Vitali's appendix, one suspects that Vat Gr 771 was once in the possession of Grottaferrata. This is the opinion of ROCCHI (*De coenobio Cryptoferratensi eiusque bibliotheca*, Tusculum, 1893, pp. 271, 279) who affirms that it was written either by Nilus II or Sophronius of the same monastery. He makes no mention, however, of its relationship to Vitali's *Pentecostarion*, nor to the number C. 24.

14) Vat Gr 2118 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 11th century writing.

The manuscript has not yet been described in the printed Vatican catalogs. The calligraphy suggests the 11th century. We owe this information to the kindness of Dr. S. Lilla of the Vatican Library.

Material used: ff. 118r-120r.

It contains Stichera for Holy Saturday and various poetic items

for Easter Sunday. There are no rubrics. The "Easter Stichera" are limited to those of the Model.

- 15) Mess Gr 110 Sticherarion. 11th-12th century (Rossi).
12th century (Mancini and Matranga)

MANCINI, pp. 173-74.

Material used: ff. 180r-181r.

The manuscript contains a small collection of Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday Stichera without precise determination of when they are to be used.

- 16) Vat Barb Gr 484 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 1120 A. D.
This manuscript is not yet described in the printed catalogs of the Vatican. The dating is from KARABINOW, *Postnaja Triod*, pp. IV-V.

There are no rubrical indications. It contains Stichera for Holy Saturday Vespers, followed curiously by others for the Ainoi, which correspond in part to those currently used for Vespers of Good Friday evening. For Easter Sunday there is only the Canon, with the Kontakion inserted. The Exapostelion follows, then a small collection of Stichera for the Ainoi.

- 17) Mess Gr 115 Typicon of the Monastery of 1131-32 A. D.
San Salvatore

MANCINI, pp. 180-82; ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*.

Studied in Arranz' text: pp. 244-250 (Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros and Liturgy).

Arranz' work contains the text and an introductory study on which the following remarks are based.

With this manuscript we come upon the first of the Italo-Greek Typica which we must take into consideration. This document was written sometime between May 1131 and July 1132 for the Monastery of San Salvatore near Messina. Although written by the founder, Luke, it contains later additions of various periods in spaces left blank, which, for the most part, he never personally completed. Arranz' text is restored on the basis of a comparison with Mess Gr 159, Typicon of the Monastery of Gala (1211 A. D.), which was little changed in the course of time because little used. Dmitrievskij did not know the existence of this Typicon.

The other Messina manuscripts used in this study are from the library of the Monastery of San Salvatore now transferred to

the University Library of Messina. The collection is of the greatest interest in itself in addition to the fact that certain of the codices probably stem from Constantinople. At the time of the foundation of San Salvatore, Bartholomew of Semeri, higumen of the Patirion monastery and spiritual father of Luke, donated several codices, which he had received as gifts during his visit to the capital.

The question of the interrelationships of the Italo-Greek Typica has not yet been studied in sufficient detail. The best view of the ensemble is provided, however, by MINISCI, *I tipicà*, pp. 97-104. According to him, these Typica fall into three groups corresponding in large measure to their places of origin. One of these groups is what Minisci calls the *Calabro-Sicula* type. At the head of this, stands the Typicon of Luke, which we have just discussed. Other Typica deriving from this are comparatively abundant, dating from that of S. Maria di Gala (1211 A. D.) to an 1836 transcription of the Typicon of Luke itself in the library of Grottaferata (Crypt 424). Minisci lists them on pp. 99, 103-104. Of these we have consulted two in particular:

- 18) Vat Gr 1877 Typicon of S. Maria of Mili. 1292 A. D.

ARRANZ, XI; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. CXXI-XXX; 836-893 who presents large portions of the text. The manuscript has not yet been described in the Vatican catalogs.

Studied in DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. 882-887, completed from the codex itself ff. 221-229v, as Dmitrievskij omits the first part of the Easter Sunday Liturgy.

The manuscript was written in 1292 A. D. by a certain Paul, of Sicily, of a family originating in Corinth. (ARRANZ, p. XI).

- 19) Vat Gr 1609 Σὺν Θεῷ Τυπικόν . . τῆς ἐκκλησιαστικῆς καταστάσεως Θεοδώρου τοῦ Στουδίτου καὶ λοιπῶν. 16th century.

Codices Vat Gr 1485-1744, pp. 269-70; ARRANZ, p. XII; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, p. CXXI; 898-99, 837-92, where he gives variants of Vat Gr 1609 in connection with Vat Gr 1877.

Material used: ff. 148v-154r.

A note in the manuscript indicates that the codex was given to Sixtus V for the Vatican library by a certain Emmanuel Chorbishop of Rhodes. According to ARRANZ, p. XII this seems to be a Sicilian copy of Luke's Typicon, without the appendices or general rules of this latter. It presents several variants for the Easter services, however. In our description of the services, this manu-

script is presumed to follow Luke (in which case it is not referred to), unless otherwise indicated.

A second group described by Minisci as *Paleo-Calabrese* (pp. 102-104) includes a hypothetical archetype stemming from St. Bartholomew of Rossano, the founder of Grottaferrata, destined for use in this monastery. It would date from 1017 A. D. This unfortunately no longer exists. The other two codices that pertain to this group, and which presumably stem from the prototype are the following.

20) Jena (Universitätsbibliothek G. B. q. 6a?) Typicon of the Monastery of Patirion. Between 1130 and 1150 A. D.

RICHARD, *Répertoire*, p. 108; GIOVANELLI, *Il tipico*, pp. 22-25; ARRANZ, p. XI. Studied from copy at Grottaferrata (Crypt Γ α XXIX-401), ff. 144r-144v (according to the pagination of the original indicated in Crypt 401). We refer to this codex as *Jena* in the text.

The attribution of the Typicon to Bartholomew of Semeri for use in the monastery of the Patirion is incorrect. This latter followed the Typicon of Messina. (cf. ARRANZ, p. XI). All of the authors agree on the fact that this Typicon and that of Grottaferrata (Crypt 404) stem from the archetype of Bartholomew of Rossano, written for the monastery of Grottaferrata itself. Giovanelli bases his dating of the manuscript on the basis of the Commemoration of the death of Bartholomew († 1130) which is found in the Typicon on August 19 and the absence of a similar commemoration of Luke's death († 1150) which, he presumed, is an indication that this latter was still living.

Giovanelli affirms that the manuscript is said to be in Jena, but he does not provide a reference number (p. 23). Richard (p. 108) says that the library of Jena has only five Greek codices, of which the third (G. B. q. 6a) consists of 12th century "Typica". This is presumably the manuscript in question. A copy of the original exists, as we have mentioned, at Grottaferrata under the number of Crypt Γ α XXIX (401). Unfortunately, there is a lacuna in the manuscript extending from the middle of Holy Thursday Vespers to the Synapte of Easter Orthros. The Grottaferrata copy indicates that eight folia are missing. Thus we have an account of the ceremonies from the Great Synapte of Orthros through the end of the morning Liturgy.

21) Crypt Γ α I (404) Typicon of Grottaferrata. 1300 A. D. ROCCHI, pp. 209-211; ARRANZ, XI; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. CXXX-XLII, 899-912 who presents limited excerpts from the text.

Material used: ff. 132r-134r.

The present manuscript represents a revision of the archetype of Grottaferrata's Typicon, made by Higumen Blasios II in 1300 A. D.

Two other manuscripts represent this Paleo-Calabrese tradition: Mess Gr 25 and Casanatensis G. IV 14. It is difficult to get an idea of the primitive shape of the Easter services according to this group of codices inasmuch as there is a considerable lacuna in the Jena manuscript, and Crypt 404 represents a re-working of the primitive elements of the monastery's Typicon. Mess Gr 25 and Casanatensis G IV 14 are not of great help as they depend partially at least on Crypt 404.

We must be careful not to conclude too easily from passages in Crypt 404 where it parts company with the other Italo-Greek Typica that these are the result of the revision of Blasios II. Two items in this document which are not found in the other Italo-Greek Typica turn up in the Synaxarion of George Mtatsmindeli: 1) the substitution of a short office in the refectory for Compline or Mesonyktikon, and 2) the note that the brethren return to their cells after the evening meal. This shows that certain variants within the Studite tradition itself extend beyond national boundaries.

A final group according to Minisci (pp. 98-99) consists of Typica stemming from the liturgical practice of the area around Otranto. The manuscripts which Minisci lists under this heading were also linked together by DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I (p. CXV) to form a single group. At the head of this group we find the following manuscript.

22) Tor 216 Typicon of the Monastery of St. Nicholas of Casole. 1174 A. D.

ARRANZ, p. XII; PASINUS, *Codices*, pp. 308-309; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, pp. CXV-CXXI; 795-823. He presents only excerpts. Grottaferrata possesses a copy of the original: Crypt Z α XVIII (405).

Studied from Crypt 405: ff. 150r-156r (pagination of the original indicated in the Grottaferrata copy).

According to Dmitrievskij (p. CXV) the Typicon was composed by the monastery's third Higumen, Nicholas (1153-90) in

1174 A. D. Torino 216 is according to him a 12th or 13th century copy of this original. The monastery had been founded in 1099 by Joseph its first higumen. The two other manuscripts of this group which we have studied (Barb Gr 350 and 383) proved interesting only for a note which they contained with reference to the reading of the Gospel at Easter Orthros in Constantinople and Palestine. This has already been treated in the first two sections. Thus they will not enter into consideration here.

23) Vat Gr 788 Pentecostarion. 1170 A. D.
Codices Vat Gr III, 305-306.

Material used: ff. 8-9 (Stichera for Ps 140 at Holy Saturday Vespers but written in a 14th or 15th century hand) ff. 10-15v (Easter). The codex was purchased in Chios by Fr. Francisco a Perro, O. P. There are no rubrics. As we shall see below, there are indications of two different strata of material in the text. The items for Easter Orthros are all poetical compositions.

24) Crypt Δ β VII (210) Triodion-Pentecostarion. 12th century.
ROCCHI, p. 357.

Material used: ff. 215v-218v.

There are no rubrics. The material includes Stichera for Ps 140 at Holy Saturday Vespers, along with poetic material for Easter Orthros.

25) Crypt Δ β XVII (486) Triodion-Pentecostarion. 12th century.
ROCCHI, p. 362.
Material used: ff. 57r-62v.

There are some rubrics at the beginning of Orthros, for which Stichera are provided. Among various poetical compositions for Orthros, the Paschal Stichera are abundant. They are assigned to the morning with no further determination.

26) Mess Gr 129 Various musical items. 12th century.
MANCINI, p. 192.
Material used: ff. 108v-115r.

The presence of an Antiphon for Ps 50 at Easter Orthros (not used in the monastery of San Salvatore on this occasion) seems to indicate that the codex had its origin somewhere outside this monastery. It was perhaps one of the books brought back from Constantinople by Bartholomew of Semeri. It contains various

types of musical items: Prokeimena, Kondakia, Hypacoe, Troparia for Ps 50, Alleluia, Koinonika, etc. There are no rubrics, nor Paschal Stichera.

27) Mess Gr 142 Sticherion. 12th century.

MANCINI, p. 202.

Material used: ff. 175v-177r.

Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.

28) Mess Gr 127 Sticherion. 12th century (Matranga, Rossi)
13th-14th century (Mancini)

MANCINI, p. 127.

Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.

29) Crypt E α V (378) Sticherion. 13th century.

ROCCHI, pp. 413-14.

Material used: ff. 157v-160v.

Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.

30) Crypt E α VI (408) Sticherion. 13th century.

ROCCHI, p. 414.

Material used: ff. 113r-117v.

Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.

31) Crypt E α VIII (291) Sticherion. 13th-14th century.

ROCCHI, p. 415.

Material used: ff. 131r-134v.

Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday.

32) Vat Gr 1517 Holy Week-Pentecostarion. 15th century.

Codices Vat Gr 1485-1744, pp. 61-63.

Material used: ff. 82r-110r.

Holy Saturday Vespers and Easter Sunday Orthros and Liturgy follow the Model closely. The manuscript contains rubrical indications and the text of the readings.

33) Vat Gr 1537 Items from the Horologion. 1573 A. D.

Codices Vat Gr 1485-1744, p. 98.

Material used: ff. 9-24v which contain the service of Easter Orthros up until the middle of the third Paschal Sticheron.

The codex is not a complete Horologion but rather "... varia liturgica ad Horologium italo-graecum praecipue spectantia."

(*Codices Vat Gr 1485-1744*, p. 98). The material is close to that of the Grottaferrata Horologion of 1677, save that there is no mention of the Higumen or even the deacon. There is, further, no Gospel reading at Orthros as in Crypt 404 and the 1677 Horologion.

34) Ὁρολόγιον σὺν Θεῷ Ἀγίῳ κατὰ τὴν ἑκπαλαι τάξιν οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ Τυπικὸν τοῦ τῆς Κρυπτοφέρρης μοναστηρίου Rome, 1677.

Material used: pp. 570-588 (Holy Saturday Vespers - Easter Sunday).

We make occasional mention of this, indicating some differences between it and Crypt 404, which it generally follows closely. It is sometimes useful in that it spells out items to which the former merely alludes.

CHAPTER TWO

HOLY SATURDAY VESPERS

1. From the Beginning until the Entrance

The Stichera for Ps 140

This first section of Vespers is well covered by the manuscripts we have studied, inasmuch as the Stichera for Ps 140 are presented by the Sticheraria, which have nothing to say about the second part of the service. In the case of certain Sticheraria, (among the older ones: Vat Gr 2118, Mess Gr 110, and among the later ones: Mess Gr 142, Crypt 291) the Stichera presented by the ensemble of manuscripts for Saturday Vespers are simply found in a collection designated for Holy Saturday without any further determination as to when they are used on this day. In these manuscripts, however, they occur last in order among those given.

While the presence of multiple Stichera sung in connection with Ps 140 clearly situates us in the context of a Palestinian type Vespers rather than in that of Constantinople, nonetheless the absence of the Anastasima Stichera in almost all of the manuscripts provides us with a first characteristic of this tradition as opposed to that of Sabba: the Stichera used are all taken from the Idiomela of Holy Saturday; those of the Sunday Octoechos found in the Model are totally absent in most of these manuscripts. Apart from Sin 150, both versions of the Hypotyposis, the Diatyposis, and Mess Gr 129 which do not touch on this section of the service, the only manuscripts which call for the use of the first tone Anastasima are Vat Gr 788, Crypt 210 and Tif 222. We need not be detained by the case of Vat Gr 788, as this section of the manuscript is in a 14th or 15th century hand and does not correspond to the original material of the codex which dates back to 1170 A.D. The case of Crypt 210 is more difficult. This manuscript which is scarce in rubrics contains principally poetic texts common for the most part to both Studite and Sabba traditions. Perhaps it stems from Sabbite rather than Studite sources.

Tif 222 also speaks of the "Stichera of the first tone" without specifying anything further, save that they are sung "na 10", namely, that Stichera are used with the last ten verses of the psalms. This vague remark probably refers to the Anastasima Stichera of the 1st tone, as the "Σήμερον" Stichera (most used by the other manuscripts) are of the fourth plagal tone. The "na 10" also corresponds to usual Sunday practice of Sabba. This impression is strengthened by the presence of the first tone Anastasimon Theotokion, "Vsemirnuju Slavu" which is also alluded to. This is not the only point, however, in which this document stands apart from other Studite sources. It would seem to be a transitional document between the two traditions.

The Stichera most used by the various manuscripts are "Σήμερον ... συνέφερε μοι", "Σήμερον ... κατελύθη", and "Σήμερον ... κατεπόθη", all of which are found in the Model in addition to the Anastasima. Most of the manuscripts which contain Stichera indicate all three of them; Vat Gr 771 gives only the third, Crypt 486 only the second. The other Stichera indicated in their place in these latter two manuscripts are three which we find in HS 43 as the Stichera "εἰς τὸν στίχον" and in Sin 742 among general Holy Saturday Stichera: "Φῶς ἐσπερινόν", "Ἐλαμψεν ἡμῖν ἡ πάμφωτος", and "Ἱερουσαλήμ, εὐφράνθητι"¹¹. These Stichera penetrated with the theme of light are characteristic of the Jerusalem liturgy, where they are clearly related to the appearance of the Holy Fire in HS 43. Inasmuch as they do not occur in the other manuscripts studied in this Section, they provide an interesting point of contact between the Italo-Greek and Palestinian services, independent of the other branches of the Studite tradition¹².

In quite a few other manuscripts, the Sticheron, "Πορευθέντες σου ἐν πόλαις", (last of the Stichera from the fourth tone plagal Anastasima for the Ainoi) appears with the three "Σήμερον" Stichera to form a group of four: Lavra Γ 72, Vatop 1488, Ath 788, Vat Pius II Gr 30, Mess Gr 110 (where, however, it is an addition made by a later hand in the lower margin), Mess Gr 115, Crypt 404, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 378. Lavra Γ 67, Γ 72, and Vatop 1488 also have "Ὁρώσα σε" (which also appears in Tor 216, but as a Doxastikon). Finally, Lavra Γ 67 and Γ 72 have "Ὁ φρικτοῦ θεάματος" not found in the other manuscripts. The Typica among these manuscripts (which are all Italo-Greek save that of

¹¹ The text of the third is slightly different in HS 43 and Sin 742: "Ἱερουσαλήμ, φαυδρόνθητι ..."

¹² FOLLIERI, *Initia* V, 29; I, 415; II, 192 indicates them only for HS 43.

Evergetes) all indicate that each of these four Stichera are to be sung twice, thus providing for eight poetic inserts at the end of the Vesper psalms.

There is less unanimity as regards the Doxa. The Sticheraria for the most part do not indicate a Sticheron for the Doxa. Ath 788, Vat Gr 788's 14th-15th century addition, Crypt 404, and the Sticherarion Crypt 378 indicate "Τὴν σήμερον μυστικῶς" found in the Model, Vat Gr 788 adding "Τὴν παγκόσμιον δίδξαν" for the "Καὶ νῦν", likewise as in the Model. Tif 222 further mentions the latter item in connection with the entrance, but it is not clear if this is the only Sticheron sung with the Doxa. Vat Pius II Gr 30, Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877 have "Σταυρωθέντος σου, Χριστέ". Tor 216 has "Ὁρώσα σε" (which occurs also in Lavra Γ 67, Γ 72, and Vatopedi 1488 but not as the Doxa). Thus not even within the Italo-Greek tradition do we find anything like unanimity.

Other Items

Indications for the earlier part of the service are provided only by Ath 788, Tif 222, the Italo-Greek Typica, and the Pentecostarion Crypt 486 which simply indicates the time Vespers begin. These documents indicate that Vespers are to be begun at the sixth hour (Sin 150)¹³, at the 11th (Ath 788 which specifies the end of the eleventh hour, Tif 222, and Crypt 486), at the middle of the twelfth (Ivir 754), or the first hour of the night (Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, Vat 1877). Thus we find unanimity among the Italo-Greek Typica.

Conclusion

The documents which treat of the first part of Vespers all describe a service which corresponds essentially with that of the Model, one or other document adding some detail of its own¹⁴. The principal difference between the two lies in the fact that the Anastasima Stichera used by the Model are not found here. The

¹³ Sin 150, more precisely, says the entrance takes place at this hour.

¹⁴ Ath 788 only mentions that there is no monastic psalmody and that the priest wears white vestments. The Italo-Greek Typica mention that the priest and the deacon are vested in black (Tor 216 and Vat Gr 1877 specifying that they change to black after the Synapte). Tif 222 speaks of the priest vesting in black phelonion during the Stichera of Ps 140. Tor 216 and Vat Gr 1877 indicate that the priest performs the preparation of the gifts during Ps 140. In Tif 222 this takes place after the entrance.

Idiomela most frequently used are the three beginning with the word, "Σήμερον", which are also found in the Model.

2. The Entrance and the Readings

The Sticheraria have nothing to say about this section. With the entrance we come to a section of the service which closely parallels the office of Hagia Sophia. A comparison of this second half of Vespers in our Model and in the group of documents at hand shows that the Studite books follow SOPH even closer than does the Model.

After the entrance and the Phos hilaron, we find that the documents are divided into two groups with regards to the Prokeimenon before the OT readings: 1) Sin 150 and the Italo-Greek Typica (Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, and Vat Gr 1877) have the Prokeimenon Ps 65,4 as in SOPH with, however, only one Stichos. 2) Ath 788 and Tif 222 have the usual Saturday evening Prokeimenon, Ps 92,1b. Both of these groups are in opposition to the Model which has no Prokeimenon at this point¹⁵.

The block of fifteen readings is found in all the documents¹⁶. The refrains of the canticles following the 6th and 15th reading are the scriptural ones found in SOPH save in the 15th century Vat Gr 1517. Here the refrain of the Model, "Τὸν Κύριον ὑμνεῖτε", appears, but only after Stichos 17, which itself does not pertain to the Scriptural canticle, but is a poetical addition as is Stichos 18. With the verses before this, the scriptural refrain is still used.

In addition, Sin 150, Tif 222, and the Italo-Greek Typica Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, and Vat Gr 1877 have also preserved the Prokeimenon (Ps 26,1b) found in SOPH after the third

¹⁵ Among other details concerning this section we find that Ath 788 and Mess Gr 115 call for the "κἀτω κἀθεδρα". Ath 788 also provides an interesting verbal link with the Typicon of Hagia Sophia. As in this latter, it is said that the *megaleion* is carried in the entrance. This word derives from the Hebrew *megilla* (book) and apparently occurs only on this one occasion in SOPH. (Cf. MATEOS, *Typicon* II, 306.) Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 specify that only one priest and one deacon perform the entrance and that incense and candles are carried in the entrance.

¹⁶ Vat Gr 1877 explicitly numbers its readings and comes up with only fourteen (Dan 3 being the last). This is probably an error of the scribe, however, who indicates the book of Isaiah as the source of the thirteenth reading but gives as its *incipit* that of the Model's fourteenth reading (Jer 38,31). Ath 788 does not list its readings which it refers to as "*prophe-teia*".

reading (although they indicate only one Stichos), once again following SOPH more closely than does the Model. Once again, also, Ath 788 differs from Sin 150 and the Italo-Greek Typica in that it lacks this Prokeimenon. A curious item is found in the 9th century section of Sin 150 which indicates the Troparion, "Θεοτόκε παρθένε ἔκτενε τὸν Υἱόν σου", after the Doxa of the Exodus canticle¹⁷. Sin 150 also incorporates the indication of SOPH that there are only seven readings, if the baptisms have been finished early.

After the completion of the canticle of Daniel 3, Tif 222 and the Italo-Greek Typica (Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, Vat Gr 1877) along with Mess Gr 129 have preserved another element of the SOPH service not present in other traditions. In imitation of the entrance of patriarch with the newly-baptized which we saw in our study of SOPH, these manuscripts describe the following ceremony. The priests and deacons who have already entered into function change into white vestments and go to the narthex before the Royal Doors. They are met by other priests and deacons of the monastery who have also changed into white vestments. The prayer of the entrance of the Liturgy is said according to Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 404¹⁸.

Conclusion

In this section of the service we find that although the Studite documents have the same cursus of readings as the Model, they differ considerably as regards the hymnic material. First of all, they have a Prokeimenon before the readings, while the Model has none at this point. Secondly, quite a few codices have a Prokeimenon after the third reading. Finally, they provide appropriate Scriptural refrains for the canticles following the sixth and fifteenth readings, whereas the Model has a refrain only for

¹⁷ This Troparion occurs in various places in the present day Byzantine liturgy (cf. FOLLIERI, *Initia* II, 128) but not in connection with Holy Saturday or Easter Sunday.

¹⁸ In the procession, the deacons precede the Gospel with candles and incense, according to Mess Gr 115. Tor 216 says that the clerics carry candles, while the deacon carries the Gospel and thurible; in Crypt 404, the readers carry the candles; the subdeacons, the incense; and the deacon, the Gospel. Vat Gr 1877 says that the deacons carry candles, incense, and the Gospel. Tif 222 simply says that the Gospel and candles are carried in the procession. Crypt 404 assigns the prayers of the Antiphons of the Liturgy and the prayer of the Trisagion to the Higumen; only after the end of the "prophecy" does he say the entrance prayer of the Liturgy.

the fifteenth, and this is an adaptation of the original Scriptural refrain. All of this reflects a greater fidelity to the prescriptions of SOPH on the part of the Studite tradition. A further example of this is provided by the Italo-Greek documents, which have a procession of the clergy during the Dan 3 canticle in imitation of the procession of the newly-baptized with the bishop, which we find in SOPH.

3. The Liturgy

At the end of the Daniel canticle, the "Prokeimenon" (an expression which the Prophetologia also used for this chant) Ps 31,1 is begun by a deacon who stands before the others. The assistants repeat this verse. The deacon who sings the Stichoi proceeds a little beyond the Royal Doors and chants the second Stichos (v. 2). The assistants repeat the refrain, and the deacon moves on to the middle of the church preceded by those who carry the candles. There he sings the third Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 5cd. Once again the assistants repeat the refrain. Arriving at the Holy Doors and opening them, the lampbearers enter. The deacon standing in the middle of the doors repeats the first half of the refrain. The assistants sing the second half, and all the clergy go into the sanctuary, as the deacon repeats the second half of the refrain after the assistants. This order of the ceremony is indicated in Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 404, save that there are two deacons who sing the Stichoi in this latter. Tif 222 indicates only one Stichos, then immediately goes on to speak of the repetition of verse one by the deacon standing in the Holy Doors after the procession has arrived there.

After the entrance into the sanctuary we find that 1) Crypt 404 and Sin 150 make no mention of any *Synapte*, while 2) Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 call for the *Great Synapte* (along with the prayer of the Trisagion), and 3) Ath 788 and Tif 222 call for the "*Synapte of the Trisagion*." 4) Vat Gr 1517 call for the *little Synapte*. This item which departs from the practice of the Model seems in the case of Mess Gr 115 to be related to the usual practice of this Typicon which has a *Synapte* at this point when there is a Eucharistic celebration in connection with Vespers¹⁹.

¹⁹ Cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. 439. The *Synapte* prescribed in the cases here mentioned is sometimes called the *Great Synapte* and at other times the *Synapte of the Trisagion*.

With regards to the beginning of the Liturgy Sin 150 has an element which none of the other manuscripts mention. At the beginning of its indications for the Liturgy, we find the entry: "Τὸ εἰσοδικόν, Ὁ μονογενὴς Υἱὸς καὶ Λόγος". Thus we find that this document has preserved the primitive Constantinopolitan practice of using this chant for the entrance, although it was not used by SOPH on Holy Saturday²⁰. All of the documents provide for the chant of Gal 3,27 instead of the Trisagion with the one exception of Crypt 404. With regards to the Prokeimenon before the Apostle, we find that once again the manuscripts fall into three groups: 1) Ath 788 and Tif 222 have the *Prokeimenon of the Model*, Ps 65,4 (which occurs in SOPH before the OT readings). The latter manuscript has two Stichoi (Ps 65, v. 1 and v. 2). 2) Sin 150 has Ps 31,1 (without indication of Stichoi). This is an attempt no doubt, to incorporate SOPH's chant for the entrance of patriarch and newly-baptized as did the Italo-Greek documents, but not in the same literal way, 3) the Italo-Greek Typica, ever faithful to SOPH, say that the *Prokeimenon* is to be omitted because Ps 31,1 was sung in this function at the entrance.

The Apostle and Gospel are those of the Model.

The chant of Ps 81,8 which replaces the Alleluia after the Apostle²¹ is likewise found in all the documents which treat of this section, save that the number and division of the Stichoi varies greatly²².

The Liturgy of St. Basil is called for by Sin 150, Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, Vat Gr 1877, and Vat Gr 1517.

²⁰ MATEOS, *Evolution historique*, pp. 7-9.

²¹ Sin 150's 10th-11th century section curiously calls Ps 81,8 the Stichos of the Alleluia. Verse one of the psalm follows under the heading of "another Stichos". The older 9th-10th century section, however, indicates it as being sung instead of the Alleluia, as in the Model.

²² Crypt 404, for instance, after giving the first Stichos simply says: "στιχολογεῖ ψαλμὸς 81," thus calling for the entire psalm. At the other extreme we find Sin 150 which explicitly indicates only the first verse as its Stichos. Perhaps the others are meant to be taken for granted. In Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877 the verses of the psalm are divided into five Stichoi; in Ath 788, into three. Vat Pius II Gr 30 has three Stichoi which cover the first three verses of the psalm. Vat Gr 1517 has only two, and these are written in a later hand. Kekelidze gives the incipits of five Stichoi for Tif 222, corresponding to verses 1, 2, 4, 6, and 8 of the psalm. The *desinits* are not given. The verses are sung by the psalter in Ath 788, by one of the priests in Vat Pius II Gr 30, Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877 (the latter two say that he faces east; the other priests face him), Tor 216 (where he faces the altar) and Crypt 404 (which does not speak of where he stands).

The chant, "Σιγησάτω πᾶσα σὰρξ", does not appear in any of the manuscripts of this group as a substitute for the Cherubikon. This latter is specifically indicated by Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, and Vat Gr 1877 which all say that it is sung three times, thus once again following closely the practice of the Great Church. They indicate that it is to be sung "γοργόν" twice and "ἀργόν" once²³.

In addition to the two musical manuscripts, Vat Pius II Gr 30 and Mess Gr 129, all of the Italo-Greek Typica along with Sin 150 and Ath 788 indicate the Koinonikon of the Model.

Mess Gr 115 alone refers to the hour of the Apolysis, which it says takes place at the fourth hour of the night.

Conclusion

In the case of the Liturgy, the only significant items which set the Studite documents off from the Model are the following. 1) The Italo-Greek group omit the Prokeimenon in accordance with the prescriptions of SOPH. 2) Many, though not all, prescribe a Litany after the entrance into the Sanctuary. This item seems to be linked with the normal practice in the case of a Liturgy celebrated in connection with Vespers in Mess Gr 115, at least. 3) The Cherubikon is used by the Italo-Greek documents instead of the "Σιγησάτω" of the Model, once again following the lead of SOPH.

4. Meal and Intermediate Office

This section is covered completely only by Ath 788, Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, Vat Gr 1877, and Vat Gr 1517. Sin 150 has nothing to say of this entire section, while the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis only touch briefly upon what the monks eat after the Vigil, and indicate that Compline is omitted.

²³ Kekelidze says that the "zadostoinik" is sung three times, twice quickly and once slowly. The expression "zadostoinik" is that used by the Slavonic books for the proper chants which are substituted on certain feasts for the "Ἀξίον ἔστω" sung during the Anaphora. In view of the closeness of the description of the Italo-Greek manuscripts which calls for the Cherubikon to be sung three times (twice fast, and only slowly) one wonders whether or not Kekelidze has mistranslated the manuscript and the chant in question is not the Cherubikon.

The Meal

The manuscripts fall into two categories according to *where* they situate the meal:

Iviron 754 and Ath 788 both situate this brief meal in the *narthex*. In the former it consists simply of the "εὐλογία" and two glasses of wine, whereas in the latter, nuts, figs, pulse, and wine are added. The Vatop 322 version of the Hypotyposis speaks of a meal of bread and fruit but does not say where it takes place. The Vat Gr 2029 version of the same, however, also includes cheese, fish, and eggs. Ath 788 says that the "psalm of the table" is sung and the *lite* takes place before the meal. After the usual thanksgiving, there is a reading from Gregory of Antioch: "Ἐπαινετὸς καὶ οὗτος" (PG 88, 1847-66).

Tif 222 and the Italo-Greek Typica (Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Crypt 404, and Vat Gr 1877), however, situate it *in the refectory*. Tif 222, Tor 216 and Crypt 404 say that Ps 144 is sung as the brethren go to the refectory, Tif 222 adding that it is sung with Stichoi. Vat Gr 1877 specify that they eat the Antidoron (κατακλαστόν) on their way there. In Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 the meal consists of bread and hot "πιτταρίων"²⁴ and wine. In Tor 216 it consists of unspecified cooked dishes ("μαγειρίας") with oil. Wine is drunk. Tif 222 similarly speaks of "wine and one cooked dish". In Tif 572, the brethren remain in the church for the meal, sitting in their proper places. The cellarer distributes dried figs and wine. This variant, which follows the Model rather closely both as regards the location of the meal and the food eaten, is indicative of the growing importance of the Sabba Typicon in the Georgian church, insinuating its way even into documents of the older tradition. In Crypt 404 the menu is left to the discretion of the Higumen.

The Intermediate Service

The manuscripts may be divided according to whether they have as this service, Compline, or a short unnamed service, or, as in the Model, Pannychis. After the meal instead of the Pannychis, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 prescribe *little Compline* in the refectory. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 refer back to the practice of Christmas and Epiphany eves, limiting themselves to

²⁴ This word is not found in the dictionaries. It is perhaps related to the demotic "πιττα", which is a sort of pie made with cheese, vegetables, or other foods.

pointing out that the Apolytikion is "Ὁ εὐσχήμων Ἰωσήφ." Tor 216, however, outlines the structure of the office. After the initial blessing, and the prayers of the reader, "Δεῦτε" (3), "Ὁ κατοικῶν" (=Ps 90) "Μεθ' ἡμῶν ὁ Θεός", "Παναγία Δέσποινα", Ps 50, Great Doxology, Troparion, "Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος", Theotokion "Τοῦ Γαβριήλ", Κύριε ἐλέησον (12), Ἀπόλυσις.

After this, according to the same manuscript, the ecclesiarch and one or two clerics go to the church for *Great Compline*. It further adds that in some monasteries all the brethren save the old and sick go to the church for this. Among the two readings mentioned in the course of this latter, Pseudo-Epiphanius' "Τί τοῦτο" is alone specified. The Canon is that of the Theotokos and not that of Holy Saturday Orthros as in the Model. Various Canons and readings follow until the beginning of Orthros.

The Hypotyposis and Diatyposis have only the Trisagion instead of Compline²⁵. (The former says that the Trisagion is recited privately.) Tif 222 and Crypt 404 have neither Pannychis nor Compline.

There is a *short office* in Crypt 404 consisting of the Trisagion, Pater, "Ὅτε κατῆλθες", Theotokion "Πάντα ὑπὲρ ἔννοιαν", (sung twice). Tif 222 simply mentions the Trisagion sung at the door of the refectory. After this, the brethren return to their cells according to both manuscripts.

Ath 788, on the other hand, has the *Pannychis* as in the Model save for the following items. A second Canon is given. The Troparia of the Canon are sung only twice. After the Kathisma of Holy Saturday there is a Doxa with a repetition of the Kathisma. The reading which follows if there is time is not from Pseudo-Epiphanius but from Chrysostom's Commentary on the beginning of the Gospel of St. John. The reading after the sixth Cde (time permitting) is from the same Commentary. After the Trisagion, there is no Apolytikion. After the Apolysis, there is once again a reading from Chrysostom's Commentary.

The 14th century Tif 572 has an interesting variant in connection with the Mesonyktikon.

At the sixth hour, the bells are rung for Orthros²⁶. They pray quietly. If there is to be a "bdenie" the patriarch enters the

²⁵ Thus the Vatopedi version of the Hypotyposis. The Vatican version says that neither Compline nor the Trisagion in the refectory are to be said.

²⁶ KEKELIDZE, *Liturgiĉeskie*, p. 291, note 2 suggests that the Georgian word used might mean Mesonyktikon. *De facto*, the structure of the service corresponds to this latter.

sanctuary and changes into festive vestments; he incenses and says Ps 31,1. The Canon "Volnoju morskoju" ("Κόματι θαλάσσης"). Reading from the Theologian. At the ninth hour the bells are rung for Orthros... etc.

The mention of the patriarch seems to bring us back to Constantinople once again, but if this item really stems from the authentic 14th century practice of SOPH, it is almost impossible to say how it found its way here at such a late period. The items indicated point to the Mesonyktikon of Sabba, as in the Model, although the presence of Ps 31,1 is surprising indeed. Perhaps the source was rather a late Typicon of the Jerusalem Patriarchate.

Thus we find that the reading from the Book of Acts is totally absent from this tradition. The elasticity of the Pannychis or Compline points to the fact that this service is more than anything else designed to fill the interval between Vespers and Orthros.

The Silence of the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis Concerning the Vigil

One wonders what significance is to be attached to the absence of an account of the Paschal Vigil in the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis. As we have seen, there is only a brief mention of the time at which Vespers begin, and of the meal taken after them. The next thing we find is a reference to the awakening of the brethren the following morning. Inasmuch as the second half of Vespers in this tradition is almost identical to that of SOPH, perhaps there was no need felt to explain this in a liturgical *ordo*, which, as we have seen, limits itself to pointing out significant differences of feast days from the usual order of ceremonies. As a matter of fact, both versions of the Hypotyposis refer the reader to SOPH's practice with regard to the Easter morning Liturgy:

... τὰ κατὰ συνήθειαν ψαλλόμενα ἀντίφωνα... οὐ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένα²⁷.

For the rest, the remark about the brethren being awakened for Orthros points to the fact that there was not a continual service of prayer between the two offices.

The Interval Between the Intermediate Office and Orthros

It is more difficult to determine what sort of interval there was between Compline and Orthros in the other documents. Tor 216 calls for Canons and readings at the end of Compline until the time of Orthros. At the other extreme Tif 222 and Crypt 404

²⁷ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, 227.

after their brief prayer service in the refectory permit the monks to return to their cells until Orthros. A similar arrangement must have been practiced in San Salvatore, for Mess Gr 115 situates the Apolysis of the Vigil at the fourth hour of the night. In between this and the ninth hour at which Orthros begins, there is only the meal and little Compline, which could not have lasted very long. Vat Gr 1887 does not specify the time of the Apolysis of the Vigil but judging from the ceremonies which are almost identical with those of Mess Gr 115, one would judge that the same was the case. In Ath 788, on the other hand, we are only at the end of the Canon of the Pannychis by the eighth hour, around which time Orthros begins.

Thus Tor 216 and Ath 788 represent what was to become the standard practice in the later Sabba Typicon: a continuous service extending from Vespers through the intermediate office to Orthros. That this had not always been the practice of Sabba itself seems clear from the description of the Russian Higumen Daniel, who explicitly says that the monks retired to their cells after the conclusion of the Vigil. Orthros did not begin until the following morning.

At this point there follows in the text of Tif 222 the excursus on the first part of Vespers of Holy Saturday according to the rite of Hagia Sophia. This has already been discussed in Section Two.

Conclusion

As regards the *meal*, we find that the Studite documents situate it not in the church as does the Model but rather in the narthex or in the refectory. The various manuscripts vary considerably in their prescriptions as to what it to be eaten. At one extreme we find Ivirion 754 where the only items taken are the blessed bread and two glasses of wine, while at the other there is Vat Gr 2029 which permits cheese, fish, and eggs.

The *Intermediate Office* in these documents is only in one case the Pannychis of the Model (Ath 788). We find more frequently some form of Compline (most of the Italo-Greek documents). Tif 222 and Crypt 404 have only a brief office in the refectory after the meal, and the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis reduce the intermediate office to the recitation of the Trisagion. The office of Orthros is separated from this intermediate office by an interval during which the brethren retire to their cells in the Hypotyposis, Diatyposis, and Italo-Greek documents. Only Tor 216 and Ath 788 link the two offices together by a continuous service of prayer.

CHAPTER THREE

ORTHROS

1. Preparations in the Narthex and the Entrance

Most of the documents indicate that the service is to begin sometime between the second and third watches of the night²⁸.

The Earlier Documents on the Gathering in the Narthex

The indications of Sin 150 for the first part of this section are rather simple. It is said that the priest having changed, incenses the people and comes with them to the narthex. The two versions of the Hypotyposis, the Diatyposis and MS 380, after mentioning that the monks are awakened say that the semandra are rung. The brethren gather in the narthex and pray silently. One of the priests incenses the sanctuary and, as in the Model, comes along the north side of church incensing. Arriving at the Royal Doors he incenses the brethren. One or other of these manuscripts add other details²⁹.

²⁸ We learn from Vat Gr 2029 that the brethren are awakened at the second watch, or the sixth hour. According to Vatop 322 and MS 380 it is at the third watch or the ninth hour. Ivir 322 says the second or third watch, or the ninth hour. Ath 788, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 indicate that the brethren gather at the ninth hour. Crypt 404 and the Pentecostarion Crypt 486 limit themselves to saying that this gathering takes place "at night".

²⁹ Vatop 322 says that when the brethren gather in the narthex, the priests and deacons remain in the church along with the higumen. Vatop 322, Ivir 754, and MS 380 say that the priest is preceded by a lamp as he comes along the north aisle to the narthex. In Vatop 322 this is carried by the ecclesiarch. It further adds that the priest makes the sign of the cross in the doors before incensing the brethren. In MS 380 as the priest arrives at the doors, the higumen goes around to the brethren distributing candles. Ivir 754 also notes later on that the brethren carry candles as they enter the church.

The Later Documents

The later documents (Ath 788, Tif 222, and the ensemble of the Italo-Greek manuscripts — Vat Gr 771, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 486) all reproduce the elements held in common by the older ordos described above, save that they all make reference to the fact that the brethren are given candles (by the higumen in Mess Gr 115, and Vat Gr 1877; by the priest in Tif 572). Vat 771 and Crypt 486 alone fail to mention these candles. Vat Gr 1877 insists on this item:

ὁ προεστὼς διανέμει τὰ κηρία, πάντες πρὸς αὐτὸν ἀπερχόμεθα, ἐν ᾧ ἱσταται, καὶ δεχόμεθα ταῦτα ἐκ τῶν αὐτοῦ χειρῶν, καὶ ὅτε ἀψῇ ὁ προεστὼς τὴν αὐτοῦ λάμπαδα, ἀπτουσι καὶ πάντες.

One or other manuscript adds details of its own³⁰.

The Particularities of Grottaferrata's Typicon

The ceremony in Crypt 404 is adapted to details of local topography. All the lights of the church are lit, and the brethren gather in the "church of the chapter," where those in Orders vest. The higumen distributes candles which are lit. In a way similar to the Hypotyposis this document indicates that the higumen, hebdomadary priest, deacon, and subdeacon along with the parekklesiarch remain within the Great Church at the Royal Doors. The monks proceed to the narthex passing through the doors of the "Camposanto" to the Royal Doors singing "ἤρημα" Ps 50 or the hexapsalm. Having arrived there, the higumen or hebdomadary priest incenses them.

³⁰ Thus, Ath 788 says that the priest incenses not only the sanctuary but around the entire outside of the church, preceded by a deacon with a lamp. It also specifies along with Vat Gr 1517 that the brethren light their candles only after the priest incenses them. Tif 222 says that the priest vests in white. It does not specify that he passes along the north aisle on his way to the narthex. In Mess 115 and Vat Gr 1877 the priest incenses before the Holy Doors before coming to the narthex. When he arrives there, these doors are shut. The priest who incenses is preceded by a deacon with lamp and candles in Mess Gr 115, by a cleric with lamp and candles in Tor 216, a deacon with candles in Vat Gr 1877. Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877 and Vat Gr 1537 alone speak of the three-fold signing of the doors with the censer before the incensation of the brethren. (This occurs later in Ath 788). Tor 216 alone reproduces the note of the Model which says that the candlelighter alone remains in the church.

The Entrance

From this point until the beginning of the Canon, the manuscripts present considerably different arrangements. In order to avoid confusion Chart D describes in general outline the content of the more important manuscripts.

With the actual entrance into the church, our manuscripts fall into two different categories. On the one hand, we have Vat Gr 2029, Ivir 754, Tif 222, Vat Gr 771, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 486 in which the entrance takes place in the simplest way. After having made the sign of the cross three times in the doors and incensed the higumen and the brethren the priest returns to the doors and signing them opens and enters in silence followed by the brethren. The priest returns to the sanctuary now passing along the south aisle. The others follow him into the church, presumably up the nave. The care with which Mess Gr 115 insists that the entrance is made in silence seems to point indirectly to an awareness of another tradition ("...μόνον σφραγίσας ἀνοίγει... εἰσερχόμεθα μηδὲν τὸ σύνολον ψάλλοντες").

This other tradition we find precisely in Sin 150, Vatop 322, MS 380, Athens 788, Crypt 404, Vat Gr 1609 (which here parts company with Mess Gr 115) and Vat Gr 1517. In these manuscripts we find an initial "blessing" as in the Model. In Vatop 322, MS 380, Ath 788, Vat Gr 1609, and Vat Gr 1517, the blessing is identical to that of the Model ("Δόξα τῇ Ἀγίᾳ"). In Sin 150 and Crypt 404, it is the initial blessing of the Divine Liturgy, "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεῖα"³¹. Immediately after the response, "Amen", the priest begins the Easter Troparion, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη", (henceforth to be referred to as "X. A." throughout the text). The people take up the same chant. Only in Crypt 404, however, is it sung three times as in the Model. Vat Gr 1609 alone does not have the X. A. at this point, but it is said that the people enter the church in silence along with the priest. Thus the manuscript rejoins Mess Gr 115 at this point. In MS 380 the priest lays aside the thurible after entering the sanctuary.

Sin 150 also has the chant of X. A. once by priest and once by people, but before it we find a curious addition not found in any other manuscript we have studied in any tradition. After the Amen of the blessing the Pater is recited with the usual Ekphosis, the Great Synapte follows, during which the priest says to himself the first of the series of Orthros prayers. After the Ekpho-

³¹ This is the usual initial blessing of Orthros in Crypt 404. Sin 150 has a slightly different version: "Εὐλογημένη ὑπάρχει ἡ βασιλεῖα..."

nesis, the priest begins the X. A. as in the other manuscripts. The people repeat it, then the priest repeats it, then finally the people as they enter.

Vat Gr 1537 which contains fragments of a 16th century Italo-Greek Horologion has no blessing in the narthex, but the X. A. is sung before the entrance once by priest and three times by the assistants.

Stichoi with "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη"

Crypt 404 is unique among the manuscripts of this tradition in that it situates the Stichoi from Ps 117 sung with X. A. entirely in the narthex, as in the Model. It indicates, however, only two Stichoi, which are sung by the higumen: Ps 117,24 and *ibid.*, 27b-29 with Doxa kai nyn. The higumen then repeats the first half of the Troparion after which one group of the brethren completes it. The doors of the church are opened only afterwards; the higumen and the brethren enter as the Canon is sung. There is no Syrapte.

Ath 788 also begins the Stichoi of Ps 117 in the narthex. The priest who sings the Stichoi curiously repeats at the end of each of these the second half of the Troparion ("... καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι...") before the people sing the entire Troparion as a refrain to his verses. The Stichoi which are sung in the narthex are 1) Ps 117,1; 2) *ibid.*, 4; 3) *ibid.*, 19. After these verses the Royal Doors are opened from within and the priest preceded by the deacon enters going only a little beyond them. The brethren line up on either side of him, and the higumen goes to stand in his proper place. In this position the fourth Stichos is sung: Ps 117, v. 24. Priest and deacon then proceed to the Holy Doors from which the fifth Stichos is sung: Ps 117, 27bc-28ab. The brethren meanwhile go to their places. From the sanctuary the priest sings the Doxa, while the deacon incenses the altar and the sanctuary. After the final repetitions of the X. A. the deacon sings the Great Synapte from *within* the sanctuary. In this ceremony there are reminiscences of two entrances in other documents. First of all, there is a parallelism with HS 43 which links the chant of Ps 117,19 with the opening of the doors of the church for the entrance of Orthros on Easter Sunday. But in this latter case, it is the Canon which is sung immediately afterwards. Secondly, we are reminded of the entrance of patriarch with the newly-baptized in SOPH, where psalm verses are linked with various points along the way of entrance from the back doors up to the sanctuary. In this latter case, however, the similarity is strictly a ritual one,

because the psalms are different in each case as is the liturgical context of the ceremony.

Apart from the two cases of Ath 788 and Crypt 404 which situate the Stichoi of Ps 117 partially, at least, in the narthex, the other manuscripts of this tradition treat of them only after the entrance. These latter differ as to the exact position of the priest for what follows³², though all affirm that he faces toward the East. Those manuscripts in which the entrance took place completely in silence now describe the first chanting of the X. A. three times by the priest, then three times by the assistants. MS 380 also says that the brethren now sing the X. A. three times. Tif 222 indicates that the brethren light their candles at the beginning of the X. A.

Apart from the special cases of Ath 788 and Crypt 404 described above, all the manuscripts whether the entrance took place in silence or not, now describe the chant of the Stichoi of Ps 117 by the priest, to which the people respond with the Troparion X. A. In Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, and Tor 216 after singing each verse the priest adds the second half of X. A. before the people respond with the whole Troparion, as was the case in Ath 788.

The Stichoi used are as follows:

Sin 150, MS 380 Vat Gr 771,	
Crypt 404, Crypt 486	1) Ps 117,24 a) <i>ibid.</i> , 27b
Vat Gr 2029, Vatop 322, Iv 754	1) Ps 117,24 and 27b as one Stichos
Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, Vat Gr 1537	1) Ps 117,24 2) <i>ibid.</i> , 25-27a 3) <i>ibid.</i> , 27b-28b
Vat Gr 1609	1) Ps 117,24 2) <i>ibid.</i> , 25-27a 3) <i>ibid.</i> , 27b-29
Tif 222	1) Ps 117,24 2) <i>ibid.</i> , 25-27a 3) <i>ibid.</i> , 27b-28b 4) 28c-29

With the exception of Sin 150 and Vat Gr 1877 the Doxa follows the Stichoi. After it the Troparion is repeated as usual, although Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Crypt 404 indicate that only the second half is repeated after the Doxa. Afterwards, the priest

³² In Vat Gr 2029, Vatop 322, and MS 380 he is said to stand before the altar. Tif 222, Vat Gr 771, Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877, Crypt 486, Vat Gr 1069, and Tor 216 all say that he stands outside the Holy Doors facing the altar. The latter manuscript adds that the deacon stands facing him with incense and manoualia.

sings the first half of the Troparion again; the people complete it. MS 380 seems to indicate a final repetition by the priest. It is at this moment that the priest enters the sanctuary. (MS 380, however, is not explicit on this latter point.) Vat Gr 1877 which does not have the Doxa likewise calls for a repetition of the Troparion half by priest, half by the assistants, as the priest enters.

Special Cases

Sin 150 has a curious series of elements after the last Stichos and the usual repetition of the X. A.:

ἀρχεται πάλιν ὁ ἱερεὺς τὸ Χριστὸς ἀνέστη, καὶ ὁ λαὸς· Καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι. Ὁ ἱερεὺς· Κύριε, εὐλόγησον. Καὶ τοῖς ἐν τοῖς μνήμασι καὶ πλήρη λέγει μετὰ τοῦ λαοῦ τρίτον καὶ λέγει τὸ Κύριε, ἐλέησον, δόξα³³.

A similarly curious item is found in Vatop 322, where after the Doxa and the repetition of the Troparion it is said: "ἀρχεται· Τῷ Κυρίῳ ἄσωμεν καὶ εὐθύς· Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα". The reference seems to be to the canticle Ex 15,1-18, which thus seems to have been sung before the Canon.

We have already seen in the second section that Tif 222 after its account of Easter Sunday Liturgy provides an excursus on the beginning of Orthros according to what it calls the "rite of Hagia Sophia." As was pointed out there, the main difference between the two versions which George describes corresponds to the two-fold division of the Studite documents themselves, which we have just seen: on the one hand, gathering in the narthex and silent entrance into the church; on the other, gathering in the narthex, initial blessing, with, in some cases, certain Stichoi of Ps 117, and/or the chant of X. A. As we suggested above, George might have included the second account simply in order to present a fuller picture of the variations existing within the larger Studite tradition.

At this point we find in Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Jena (which begins after the lacuna at the last repetition of the second half of the X. A.), Vat Gr 1877, and Vat Gr 1537 the Great Synapte along with the first Heothina prayer of the priest.

³³ The two expressions, "Κύριε εὐλόγησον" and "Κύριε ἐλέησον", are indeed difficult to explain. The "Κύριε εὐλόγησον" is a literal translation of the expression, "Barek, mar" found in the Syriac liturgies before the chanting of some important item. A similar expression is found in the Byzantine liturgy before the chant of Ps 140 when this is sung by a bishop ("Εὐλόγησον, Δέσποτα"). Perhaps in the present text the "Κύριε, εὐλόγησον" belongs where the "Κύριε, ἐλέησον" is, i.e., before the Doxa.

Stichoi from Ps 23

In only three documents of this tradition do we find Ps 23,9-10 in connection with the entrance into the church. Vat Gr 1537 of 1573 A. D. and the printed Horologion of Grottaferrata of 1677 A. D. indicate that immediately after the final repetition of X. A., the higumen (or priest in Vat Gr 1537) knocks on the door of the church with the cross three times saying Ps 23,9. Afterwards, a monk from within responds with v. 10a of the same psalm. The higumen responds with v. 10b, opens the door, and finally all enter. A marginal note in Mess Gr 115 indicates after the Royal Doors have been shut following the priest's entrance into the narthex: "καὶ μετὰ τοῦ ... ἁγ ἄρατε πύλας"³⁴.

Dmitrievskij affirms that the verses from Ps 23 were also called for in two 12th century Triodia of the monastery of Simono-Petras on Mount Athos (Codices 5 and 18)³⁵. These have since been destroyed by fire and we do not know whether or not they are Studite or Sabbite type books. Dmitrievskij does not specify how much of the psalm was used.

Conclusion

Thus we find that this group of manuscripts falls roughly into two categories as regards the organization of the first part of the office. In the first group after a preliminary gathering in the narthex the entrance into the church takes place in a very simple fashion without any preliminary blessing or processional chant. In the second group we find an initial blessing (though it is not always the same one as in the Model) and the chant of X. A. The entrance follows immediately upon this, however, and we do not find the psalm verses of the Model until *after* the entrance, save in the cases of Ath 788 and Crypt 404. A further point of difference lies in the fact that all of these manuscripts use Ps 117 for their psalm verses instead of the Model's Ps 67. (The verses from Ps. 23 are found for the most part only in later documents.) Ath 788 and the Italo-Greek Typica (save Crypt 404) have the Synapte after these psalm verses with X. A., as does the Model.

³⁴ Cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. 247, note 23. The reading of the manuscript is difficult here. The "ἁγ" probably stands for "λέγει".

³⁵ Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 414.

2. The Canon and the Ainoi

The Canon which now follows is begun according to Sin 150 by the psaltes, whereas in Ath 788, Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Jena, Crypt 404, and Vat Gr 1877 it is the higumen who begins it. In Vat Gr 1537, it is the priest, inasmuch as this manuscript seems to be adapted for parochial use. Tif 222 adds that the khoros and the large candles are lit at the beginning of the Canon³⁶.

Sin 150 simply alludes to the Canon without specifying details about other items to be inserted in the course of its Odes. Vat Gr 2029 mentions in connection with the Canon two unspecified readings, the second followed by Ps 50; it is not clear if these are to be inserted into the Canon. The other version of the Hypotyposis, Vatop 322, also calls for the Canon and the reading of Gregory Nazianzenus' Easter sermon, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα". After the sixth Ode, there is the Kontakion (unspecified), "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι", and Ps 50. Ivir 754 indicates the Canon along with an unspecified reading after the third Ode, followed by Ps 50.

The ensemble of the other Typica (Ath 788, MS 380, Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Jena, Crypt 404, Vat Gr 1877, Vat Gr 1537, and Vat Gr 1517) follow the order of the Model closely: the little Synapte after each Ode (save in MS 380 and Crypt 404) the Hypacoe after the third Ode the Kontakion-Oikos after the sixth, "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι", three times before the seventh Ode, the Exaposteilarion after the ninth Ode (sung only once, however). Tif 222 adds a prayer of the priest after each little Synapte. It further refers to the Easter Kontakion as Hypacoe and to the Exaposteilarion as *svetilen* (= φωταγωγικόν). MS 380 also uses this term for the Exaposteilarion, after which there follows in this same manuscript the fourth tone Resurrectional Troparion, *Svetluju Voskresenija*.

As regards the number of repetitions of the Heirmoi and Troparia, the indications are as follow:

	<i>Heirmoi</i>	<i>Troparia</i>
Ath 788	4	6
MS 380	4	—
Tif 222	2	4
Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, Jena	—	10
Crypt 404	2	2

³⁶ The text adds that the small candles are lit after the "Blagoslovenno". It is difficult to imagine what this refers to. According to the order of the text, it would seem to occur at some point after the Canon.

MS 380, while it does not mention how many repetitions there are of the Troparia, refers to four *Stichoi* which are sung. These would presumably refer to the brief refrains inserted in between the Stichera in present day practice, unless we are to interpret them of the Stichoi of the Biblical Ode which might still have been used here. This same manuscript also contains further directives about the repetition of other items in connection with the Canon, but we were unable to decipher the many abbreviations used in this description. Tif 222 says that after the Troparia, the Doxa follows with a repetition of the Heirmos.

Readings in Connection with the Canon

Readings are frequent after the third and sixth Odes:

	<i>After the third Ode</i>	<i>After the sixth Ode</i>
Ath 788	Greg. Naz: Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα	An unspecified λόγος τῆς ἑορτῆς εἰς τὸ Πανηγυρικόν
MS 380	"	—
Tif 222	Greg. Naz: unspecified reading	The reading begun after the third Ode is now completed
Mess Gr 115	Greg. Naz: Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς	unspecified reading
Tor 216, Jena, Vat Gr 1877	"	—
Crypt 404	—	Mark 16,1-8 (= a second Eothina Gospel)
Vat Gr 1537	—	—

It will be remembered that Vatop 322 also has the reading from Gregory of Nazianzus, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα", in connection with the Canon, but the exact place is not specified. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 say that if the higumen wishes, a reading may be added after the little Synapte of each Ode. Crypt 404 is unique in calling for the reading of the Gospel at Easter Orthros. As we have seen in Section One³⁷, Barb Gr 350 and 382 refer to the Gospel being read at Easter Orthros in Palestine and in Constantinople but do not seem to prescribe it for their own use.

The Absence of Ps 50 and Other Items

Ps 50 is absent from these Typica as is the case with the Model. One or other has certain particularities. Ath 788 says that the

³⁷ Cf. p. 77, note 151.

brethren extinguish their candles after the little Synapte following the first Ode. At the ninth Ode, as the priest begins the Heirmos, all light their candles and keep them lit until the Apolysis. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 along with MS 380 and Ath 788 specify after Ode 6 that Ps 50 is not sung. This points to the fact that the usual place of this psalm at Orthros in these manuscripts was precisely at this point³⁸. Crypt 404 has a distribution of fragrant herbs after the Canon but does not have the Exapostearion. By the time of the printed Horologion of 1677 this monastery had adopted the latter as well as another ceremony: At the ninth Ode, the higumen takes the trikirion and making the sign of the cross with it sings the Heirmos of the Ode. It also gives two poetic items not found in the Model: "Χριστός τὸ καλὸν Πάσχα" and "Ὁ ἄγγελος ἐβόα". Vat Gr 1537 adds a second Exapostearion after the first: "Σὺν ἀποστόλοις". It also has a "Kathisma": "Τῇ τὸν Πάσχα ἡμέρα" following the Hypacoe.

EXCURSUS ON THE POETICAL MATERIAL IN MANUSCRIPTS OTHER THAN THE TYPICA

Order of the Pieces

The various Triodia-Pentecostaria cover the section of the Canon and its poetic inserts. The musical manuscript, Mess Gr 129, also contains the Hypacoe and Kontakion. An interesting phenomenon is the fact that the order of poetic elements in certain manuscripts is different from that described by the Typica. The 11th century Vat Pius II Gr 30 presents the text of the Canon with Hypacoe, Kontakion, and Exapostearion inserted at the same place as in the Typica. Vat Gr 771 presents first the text of the Hypacoe followed by that of the Canon uninterrupted by any poetic elements. A second Canon then follows. Vat Barb Gr 484 has no Hypacoe, but in the text of the Canon the Kontakion and Exapostearion are both in place. Vat Gr 2118, Crypt 210, and Crypt 486 have the Hypacoe first, with Kontakion and Exapostearion in place. *De facto*, the presence of the Hypacoe before the Canon instead of after the third Ode is more in line with usual Sabba practice throughout the year, where it occurs in connection with the Cathedral Vigil section of Sunday Orthros.

³⁸ This is the case on days when there is no Stichology. Cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. XXXVII.

This discrepancy between the Typica and Triodia-Pentecostaria, which in some cases are contemporary with them, may be explainable in terms of a certain conservatism in liturgical books which contain only poetic elements. These can afford to copy items from older codices in the same order as they occur there. Instructions for their use can be placed in the Typica which are intended precisely to regulate the use of the pieces in the anthology-like collections of the Triodia and the Pentecostaria.

Vat Gr 788

We have a striking example of this phenomenon in the Pentecostarion Vat Gr 788 of 1170 A. D., which despite its relatively late date (39 years later than the Typicon of Luke) preserves elements of a greater antiquity. Here we find the following order:

Hypacoe
Kontakion and six Oikoi³⁹
various Stichera
Canon of Damascene with extra Troparia
Exapostearion Σαρκὶ ὑπνώσας
Ἀχραντε μητῆρ (without title)

After Ode 6 of the Canon there is a note that the Kontakion is to be found "above". There is, however, no such reference to the Hypacoe after the third Ode. After the Heirmos of the ninth Ode we find the poetic text: (the title is illegible) "Μεγάλυνον ψυχὴ μου τὸν ἐξαναστάντα τριήμερον ἐκ τάφου". This is the poetic text currently found in connection with the ninth Ode in present day Easter Orthros according to the Greek usage. Vat Gr 788 is the only manuscript which we have studied that contains it. A note adds that this "K (three or four illegible letters)" (= κάθισμα?) is repeated "κατὰ στιχῶν". Four Troparia follow. A note following the Exapostearion and the poetic text linked with it refers the reader "above" for the Stichera to be used for the Ainoi.

Thus Easter Sunday clearly falls into two parts. A first section without rubrical indications lists various poetical compositions: Hypacoe, Kontakion and Oikoi, Stichera. A second section beginning with the Canon follows the order of the service such as it exists in the various Italo-Greek Typica. Here, however, there are brief rubrical indications referring the reader back to elements

³⁹ Cf. ROMANOS, *Cantica*, "On The Resurrection" VI, pp. 224-26.

from the first section, when they need to be fitted into the order described in the second section. There is every reason to believe that the first section represents an older collection. The Kontakion still preserves some of its Oikoi, which in the course of time were lost, as the new genre of the Canon grew in importance. A further archaic feature of this section is the absence of the Canon. One has the impression that the scribe copied an older collection of poetical compositions without altering its order. He then proceeded to copy the more recent element of the Canon, indicating where necessary what elements from the older collection were to be used. While this division is helpful in showing which elements are the most ancient in the various poetical texts of the service, it does little to help us with the question of how these older elements were organized before the introduction of the Canon. The cases of Vat Gr 771, Crypt 210 and 486 suggest that the insertion of the Kontakion-Oikos into the Canon preceded that of the Hypacoe. Vat Pius II Gr 30, on the other hand, which inserts both Hypacoe and Kontakion into the Canon, shows that in some cases the older poetical material was incorporated into the newer structures even in the Triodia-Pentecostaria.

Mess Gr 129

One of the musical manuscripts we have studied also presents elements that pertain to this section of Orthros. It is Mess Gr 129, a collection of poetical items with music. Strictly speaking, it is not a Sticheron as the pieces it contains are of various genres. No mention is made of the Canon, logically enough, as this would be found in the Heirmologia. Its content for the Easter services are:

Holy Saturday Vespers:

Stichoi of Ps 31 for the entrance of the Vigil
Ps 81,8 with 3 Stichoi: *ibid.*, vv. 2, 5cd, and 11.
Kontakion of Holy Saturday

For Easter Sunday:

Hypacoe Προλαβοῦσαι (in two musical versions)
Kontakion Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ
τὸ πεντ(η)κ(ο)στ(ά)ρ(ιον): Ἀναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς
Oikos of the above Kontakion (1)
Alleluia: Ps 101,14 Stichos: *ibid.*, 20b
Koinonikon Σῶμα Χριστοῦ (two musical versions)

The ensemble of elements are those found in the Italo-Greek books save for one item: the Troparion indicated for Ps 50 ("Pentecostarion"). As we have seen, none of the Italo-Greek Typica have Ps 50 at Easter Orthros. Indeed, along with several other Typica, Mess Gr 115 explicitly says that Ps 50 is not to be sung on Easter⁴⁰. Further, this same manuscript does not usually have a Troparion-refrain for Ps 50 at Orthros⁴¹.

Crypt 300

Before leaving the question of the Canon and other poetic items sung in conjunction with it, we would like to discuss briefly the content of the ancient Triodion-Pentecostarion contained in the 10th century codex of Grottaferrata, Crypt 300. It is unfortunate that the Easter section of this manuscript is in a poor state of preservation. The general outline of its contents, however, are discernible. After Orthros of Holy Saturday we find a new heading for Easter Sunday. Under this we find:

κάθ(ισμα): Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος ...
Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸν τάφον ...
..... στρατιόται (sic) τηρουν ...

Προλαβοῦσαι ...

Στιχ. Κε εχ: eight Stichera from among those assigned to Easter by various manuscripts
Easter Canon of Damascene with no interruptions
(There follow 8 or 9 lines which are, for the most part, unintelligible.)

The assignment of the Easter Stichera to Ps 140 is very strange, for the series of elements before and after them clearly relate to Orthros. One would tend to suspect that this title was added later, but as a matter of fact, it is written in the same hand as the rest of the material and in continuity with the text without additions in the margin as is often the case in other manuscripts adapted for later use by additional rubrics.

⁴⁰ This remark is made after the sixth Ode of the Canon, in line with the fact that it would be expected at this place according to the usual practice of the monastery on a feast with no Stichology at Orthros. Cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. XXXVII.

⁴¹ Ps 50 at Orthros is followed by a Troparion which is called "πεντεκοστάριον" on certain days during Lent. (Cf. ARRANZ, *Le Typicon*, p. 198). It is sung with a Troparion intercalated between every two verses on Good Friday. (*Ibid.*, p. 237).

Apart from the presence of the Kathisma at the beginning and the absence of the Kontakion, the series of items follows rather closely that of Vat Gr 788:

Hypacoe
(Kontakion)
Stichera
Canon

The "Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸν τάφον" is not in Follieri's listings, nor have we found it in other manuscripts we have studied.

Vat Reg Pius II Gr 30

The collection of Stichera in Vat Reg Pius II Gr 30 presents some interesting points of contact with that of Crypt 300. First of all, it reproduces the first mode plagal Stichera of this latter adding, however, the Sticheron, "Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θείας", This little collection bears the same heading as in HS 43: "πρὸς τὸ Ἡχθης δι' ἡμᾶς". There then follows the "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ λαμπρυνθῶμεν", the usual Doxastikon of these Stichoi in the various traditions.

Then there comes a series of three Stichera which are likewise found in HS 43 and Crypt 300 and in the same order: "Ἀγαλλιασώμεθα ψυχῇ, Πάσχα τὸ σεβάσμιον", and "Πάσχα καθαρτήριο". These Stichera, completely absent from the three Athonite Stichera we have studied, turn up again in Sin 736. Finally comes the "Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε", not found in Crypt 300.

Crypt 486

The collection of Crypt 486 is very similar to that of Vat Pius II Gr 30. The group of first tone plagal Stichera which begins the collection is identical in both, as is the "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα" which follows. Three other Stichera of the first tone plagal follow. Then we find the Stichera common to HS 43 and Crypt 300 mentioned above. This manuscript however adds a fourth given in Crypt 300, but not in Vat Reg Pius II Gr 30: "Πάσχα τὸ μακάριον". Finally there are two Stichera from the Ainoi Stichera of Evergetes.

The Athonite Stichera

We have already pointed out the great interest of the Athonite Stichera, Lavra Γ 67, Γ 72, and Vatop 1488. In terms

of content, however, they are limited to providing Stichera for use at Holy Saturday Vespers and Easter Sunday Orthros. For this reason they have little to tell us about the order of elements in the office as a whole. We will consider their content in greater detail in our discussion of the Ainoi Stichera of Easter.

Conclusion

Our consideration of these documents has shown that they are largely anthological in character. For the most part, they are not concerned with indicating the precise use of the material they provide. For this reason they have been able to conserve certain archaic items that have been lost in the Typica. First of all, the order in which the items occur in these collections often differs from that of the Typica. This suggests that the scribes copied the material in the order in which it occurred in the older books that they used as Models without feeling the need to rearrange the pieces according to their actual use. The Canon, for instance, very frequently occurs at the end of the entry on Easter rather than in its proper place. Vat Gr 788 which *does* enter into some rubrical detail begins by listing the series of more ancient chants. Only in connection with the Canon, which follows these, does it provide indications for the order of the chants. This order, however, begins with the Canon itself. In two instances these indications refer the reader back to the first section of chants for certain items needed. As interesting as this is, however, it is impossible to draw any concrete conclusions from these documents about the precise structure of the office of an earlier period.

As regards their content, we have shown that there are some interesting parallels between Vat Pius II Gr 30, Crypt 300, Crypt 486, and HS 43, thus suggesting a possible Palestinian influence in these Italo-Greek books. Many of the Stichera these have in common with HS 43 do not appear at all in the Athonite Stichera we have studied.

(end of the Excursus)

The Rest of the Service in the Earlier Documents

After the Canon, certain of the Typica are rather vague as to the exact content of the service. For convenience's sake we will now consider the witness of these documents for the section between the Canon and the kiss of peace.

Sin 150 after mentioning that the psaltes begin the Canon, says that after the Great Doxology and the Trisagion which follows it the service of the reading of the Gospel follows. From this we are led to believe that ordinary Sunday Orthros is celebrated even with the Great Doxology, which is absent in the other documents. If there were some unusual feature about the service, it would have been indicated. We have already discussed in conjunction with the Jerusalem tradition the Gospel reading included in this manuscript. After it, we find a veneration of the Gospel and the mutual exchange of the kiss of peace.

Vatop 322 indicates after the "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ": "... καὶ ὁ Ν'. καὶ ἀπολύει τοῦ ὁρθρου ἢ ἀκολουθία." The word "ἀπολύει" probably means "is concluded" rather than that the Apolysis follows immediately after Ps 50. This is born out by the witness of Vat Gr 2029 which continues after its reference to the Canon: "... καὶ μετὰ τὴν συμπλήρωσιν τοῦ ὁρθρου, γίνεται ὁ ἀσπασμὸς καὶ ἡ ἀπόλυσις..." Ivir 754 has a similar remark. The explicit reference to Ps 50 in these documents is unique among this group of manuscripts and, indeed, among all the monastic Typica we have studied. In view of the implication found in Sin 150, Vat Gr 2029, and Ivir 754 that the Orthros service continues as usual we might assume that it was also present in these latter Typica⁴².

In view of the fact that these early documents which limit themselves to describing the particularities of the Easter service, have nothing to say about this section of Orthros, it would seem that the office presented no particular differences from ordinary festal Orthros. What *does* differ (the first part of the office from the gathering in the narthex through the Canon) is described in a fair amount of detail. Thus we believe that they represent a first period in the history of the Studite liturgy, one in which the Orthros service, although it presented certain peculiarities in its first half, followed the ordo of ordinary Sunday Orthros from the Canon until the end. The other manuscripts of the Studite tradition, however, conform more closely to the Model.

⁴² The presence in Mess Gr 129 of a refrain for Ps 50 on Easter Sunday, as we have pointed out above, presents an anomaly in that the Typicon of this monastery does not use this psalm at Easter Orthros. In the light of the fact that the earlier group of Studite documents seems to have had this psalm, it is possible that the present document has here preserved an item from earlier Studite usage.

The Ainoi and Their Stichera in the Later Documents

With regards to the Ainoi, apart from Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 in which they are curiously omitted altogether, the other manuscripts fall into two groups:

1) Tif 222, Crypt 404, Tor 216, Jena, and Vat Gr 1537 have the Ainoi along with the same *four Anastasima Stichera* of the first tone as are found in the Model. Tor 216 and Jena add to these the first two Anatolika Stichera of the same tone.

2) Lavra Γ 67, Γ 72, Vatop 1488, MS 380, and Ath 788, on the other hand, assign as the Stichera for the Ainoi *several proper first tone Stichera*. Lavra Γ 72 has six of these, while Γ 67 has four. Those found in the latter are all in the former: "Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ ὅσος τε", "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καρποφορήσωμεν", "Τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐνδόξου", and "Τὸ μακάριον Πάσχα". The others have only three of these: MS 380 and Ath 788 have the first three; Vatop 1488, the first, third, and fourth⁴³.

The Paschal Stichoi and Stichera

After the last verses of Ps 150, Lavra Γ 67 and MS 380 indicate the Doxa with its Doxastikon. The other manuscripts⁴⁴, however, (Lavra Γ 72, Vatop 1488, Ath 788, Tor 216, Jena, Crypt 404, and Vat Gr 1517) add two Stichoi from Ps 67 (v. 2 and v. 3) before the Doxa with two Stichera: "Πάσχα ἱερὸν" and "Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θέας"⁴⁵. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877, which had omitted the Ainoi, also have these verses immediately after the Exapostelion but they add another Sticheron in this way:

Πάσχα ἱερὸν
Ps 67,2
Πάσχα ὁ Χριστός
Ps 67,3

⁴³ The fourth of these seems to have been proper to Athos. We have not found it in any other manuscripts.

⁴⁴ In Tif 222 we read: "khvalite ... with stichoi: Da voskresnet Bog etc. to which the people respond: Khristos voskrese..." This seems to suggest that X. A. was used as a refrain with the Stichoi from Ps 67. It may well be that Kekelidze does not present the text accurately.

⁴⁵ In Lavra Γ 72, folia 44 and 45 are missing. Thus the collection for Easter Sunday is incomplete. These folia would have contained the verses from Ps 67 and the two Stichera that go with them. The *incipits* of these, however, are found throughout Easter week in the same order as they occur in Γ 67 on Sunday. Thus, there is a strong probability that they actually were on the missing folia of Γ 72.

Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θεᾶς
Δόξα
Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα

These manuscripts seem to treat these Stichera as Aposticha, in which the first Troparion habitually precedes the first Stichos. Thus we find within the Studite tradition a two-fold divergence in the matter of the Ainoi and the Stichoi which follows them:

1) For the Ainoi, Tif 222 and four of the Italo-Greek documents use the *first tone Anastasima Stichera*, while the others (stemming from Constantinopolitan monasteries and from the Holy Mountain) have *special Easter Stichera of the first tone*.

2) With regard to the Stichoi from Ps 67, we find that Lavra Γ 67 and MS 380 make no mention of them, while the other manuscripts have only two Stichoi (corresponding to vv. 2 and 3 of the psalm). This stands in opposition to the Model with its four Stichoi and Stichera.

Do these alternatives stem from different local variations within the Studite tradition, or do they correspond to successive periods in the history of this tradition? It is difficult to give an adequate answer to this question in view of silence of the earlier Studite documents. Both Hypotyposis and Diatyposis have nothing to say about the Ainoi but give the impression that from Ps 50 onwards, Orthros proceeds as usual.

With regards to the first point (Ainoi Stichera) these early documents concern themselves little with poetic items, so the absence of any mention of them cause little surprise. The use of special poetic material in preference to Octoechos items we found to be a characteristic of the Studite books for Vespers of Holy Saturday. This indeed was one of the characteristics that set it apart from the Sabbite tradition. Thus, the special Stichera prescribed by the books of Athos and the Constantinopolitan monasteries of Evergetes and of the Dormition of the Theotokos are in accordance with this principle we saw at work in the Vesper service.

With regards to the group of documents that use the Anastasima, it is well to remember that Tif 222 shows considerable traces of Palestinian influence, its prescriptions corresponding on several scores to those of the Model. Thus it presents something of a case apart. The other documents of this group are all Italo-Greek. It is interesting, however, to note that two important Italo-Greek documents do not concur in this use of the Anastasima: Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877. These latter, as we have pointed out,

omit the Ainoi altogether in favor of the two Stichoi from Ps 67 used with three Stichera. This lack of unanimity among the Italo-Greek documents and the curious omission of the Ainoi in Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 seems to point to the fact that the arrangement we find in these books is relatively recent.

We have something of a confirmation of this fact, if we consider that in the poetic and musical collections of the Italo-Greek Sticheraria and Triodia-Pentecostaria, we find precisely the Stichera assigned by the Athonite and Constantinopolitan documents for the Ainoi. We find, for instance, in Crypt 292 (of the end of the 10th century, thus rather near in time to Lavra Γ 67) the three Stichera we indicated above in the same order in which they occur in Lavra Γ 67 and 72, MS 380, and Ath 788. Similarly, in Mess Gr 110 the first and second of these Stichera along with the one used by these same for the Doxasticon appear at the head of the collection for Easter Sunday. Some of them also appear in Vat Gr 771 (which has the first and the third) and Vat Gr 788 (which has all three), although in these documents the Stichera have simply been listed as "ἑτέρα στιχηρά" (Vat Gr 788) or appear in a larger collection of first tone Stichera with the heading, "Ἀλλὰ".

We believe that these items point to the fact that these Stichera were once in use with the Ainoi in the Italo-Greek tradition before they were eventually relegated to the anthology-like collections of the Sticheraria. The only other hypothesis for their original use is that they would have been sung with the verses of Ps 67, but this is ruled out by the fact that the other Stichera used with Ps 67 (well attested to by the Italo-Greek sources themselves along with other Studite documents) belong to the first mode plagal, whereas the ones in question are all of the first mode authentic. This leads us to the conclusion that the use of the Anastasima Stichera in certain of the Italo-Greek books in connection with the Ainoi represents a later usage, which is perhaps due to Palestinian influence.

With regards to the second point, namely the question of the verses from Ps 67 sung with the Stichera, the silence of the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis might be more significant than in the case of the Stichera used with the Ainoi. Here we are dealing with an item which departs from normal Sunday practice, and had these verses and Stichera existed in the early practice of the Studion and of the Lavra for Easter Sunday, these two documents would have called attention to them, as they do in the case of other unusual elements of Easter Orthros. This seems to be borne out by the fact that the earlier of the Lavra Sticheraria makes no mention

of these verses but indicates the Doxa immediately after the last verse of the Ainoi, there being no question of first tone plagal Stichera save in the case of the Doxastikon. MS 380 has preserved a similar arrangement, save that even for the Doxastikon it remains in the first mode authentic, repeating the "Σήμερον σωτηρία" used as the first Sticheron.

Furthermore, Ath 788, which has these verses, nonetheless introduces them with a note that has an apologetic air to it: "Πλὴν τὰ ἰδιόμελα εὐρίσκονται πανταχοῦ ψαλλόμενα, εἴτα ἐνούμενοι, λέγομεν στίχον εἰς ἦχον πλ α' Ἀναστήτω etc." Had these verses been of long-established practice there would have been no need for the elaborate introduction.

We feel that these items suggest the probability that the psalm verses with the first tone plagal Stichera represent a later usage. It is difficult, however, to speak more conclusively for want of other documents.

One thing is clear: by the time we have evidence of the use of these Stichoi they are limited in number to two, corresponding to the first two verses of the psalm. A further item which is extremely constant is the use of only two Stichera with them: "Πάσχα ἱερὸν", and "Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θείας". Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 alone have *three* Stichera. The reason for this, however, as we have just seen, is that these documents treat the Stichera after the Ainoi as Aposticha; hence there was need of a third Troparion to precede the first Stichos⁴⁶.

Thus these first two Stichera stand apart from the rest of those used with them in the Model not only by the fact that they alone are used by many early manuscripts but also by the fact of their parallel structure. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877, which use a third, do not chose one of those currently found in the Model but another with the same structure as the first two.

⁴⁶ To our surprise, however, for Easter Sunday Vespers, Mess Gr 115, which uses these same Stichera as the Aposticha of Vespers, adds a third Stichos, causing the unit to begin with the first Stichos rather than the first Troparion. With regards to these Stichera, cf. STRUNK, *Further Note*, p. 177. He adds that the heading under which these occur in HS 43 points to the poem that served as model for their structure: "...Πρὸς τὸ Ἡχθης δι' ἡμᾶς." It also served as model for several other compositions, among which are two Easter Stichera: Πάσχα ὁ ἀμνὸς ἡμῶν τέθυσται τοῦ θεοῦ and Πάσχα ὁ ἀμνὸς... θεῖον σφάγιον. To these indicated by Strunk (p. 178) we may add the Sticheron found in Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877: Πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῶν τέθυσται.

The Doxa and Its Sticheron

After the verses from Ps 67 and the Stichera that accompany them (or after the Ainoi in the case of Lavra Γ 67 and MS 380) we find the Doxa followed by the Sticheron: "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ λαμπρυνθῶμεν" in the ensemble of all the manuscripts. MS 380 seems to stand alone in using "Σήμερον σωτηρία" in this function. Thus in the Studite tradition the *Kai nyn* is not divided from the *Doxa*, and only one Sticheron is used after it unlike the Model which has one for the *Doxa* and another for the *Kai nyn*⁴⁷.

Stichera for Easter Week in Some Collections

The collections of Lavra Γ 67, Γ 72, and Vatop 1488 provide material for Easter week as well. Lavra Γ 72, which represents the largest collection, contains Stichera for both Vespers and Orthros. At both of these offices we find the verses of Ps 67 as on Easter Sunday and along with them the same two Stichera, as are found there. For the Doxa, however, new Stichera are provided for each day of the week. Lavra Γ 67's collection is more limited. After the Doxastikon of Easter Sunday Orthros it lists a series of eleven other Stichera, each of which bears the simple title, "ἄλλο". Textually, however, they correspond to the weekday Doxastika of Lavra Γ 72. Strunk proposes that these were used for the same purpose⁴⁸. Vatop 1488 similarly lists a series of nine Stichera to be used for the Doxastika during the week. Among these we find seven of the Doxastika collection of Lavra Γ 72. It adds, however, two items which, though found in Γ 72, are not used there as Doxastika.

These items are beyond the scope of our study, but we have drawn attention to them because a consideration of the Doxastika collections of these manuscripts shows that there is one item which they all had in common: they all end with the X. A. in imitation of the one used on Sunday. In the case of Vatop 1488 which uses two Stichera not used in this connection by the two earlier documents it adds the X. A. to make them fit the group⁴⁹. The Italo-Greek documents also contain collections of Stichera, which though

⁴⁷ In Crypt 404 this Doxastikon is delayed until after the reading from Gregory of Nazianzus and the kiss of peace which take place immediately after the Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θείας.

⁴⁸ STRUNK, *Further Note*, p. 180.

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 181.

they no longer bear the title of Doxastika, correspond in some measure to those of Athos⁵⁰.

The collections are, to be sure, far from identical. Not all the items in the Athos Sticheraria are found in these, and here there are some Sticheraria found in other traditions, as will be seen from the Index of *incipits*.

The Great Doxology in MS 380

MS 380 like Sin 150 says that the Great Doxology is sung. It adds the phrase: *po tikhu*, which is probably related to such expressions in Greek as "χόμα" which indicate a simple recitative style of performance.

Conclusions

Thus we find that in the block *Canon-Ainoi*, the Studite documents present what we feel to be the evidence of successive periods in the history of the development of this tradition.

The most basic difference we find in these documents concerns the structure of the entire section of Orthros from the Canon through the kiss of peace. In an earlier group of manuscripts this part of the office seems to follow the normal structure of Sunday Orthros. In the later group we find a closer approximation of the services of the Model, which omits the important items, Ps 50 and the Great Doxology.

Further, among this latter group of documents there seem to be other traces of different strata in the history of the Studite liturgy. With regards to the *Stichera used at the Ainoi*, we found that the earlier practice of this tradition was to use proper Sticheraria, whereas later use conformed to the Model in adopting the Anastasima of the first tone. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 are unique in omitting the Ainoi altogether.

With regards to the verses of Ps 67 and the Sticheraria used with them after the verses of the Ainoi, we find that these are only two in number. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877, which add a third

⁵⁰ The collections of Easter Sticheraria in the Italo-Greek documents usually have very vague headings without specification of the exact use of the items. They generally fall into the following groups: 1) first mode plagal Sticheraria, all following the metre of Πάσχα ἑσπέρην, 2) first mode authentic Sticheraria, corresponding more or less to those used in the Athos books as Doxastika, each concluding with X. A., 3) first mode authentic Sticheraria corresponding to those used in the Athos books for the Ainoi.

Sticheron, use one which conforms to the rhythmic pattern of the first two. This differs from the practice of the Model which has four Stichoï and four Sticheraria, only one of which follows the rhythmic pattern of the first. In connection with the Doxa we find only one Sticheron, unlike the Model which has one for the Doxa and another for the *Kai nyn*.

A further point where these documents depart from the practice of the Model concerns the choice of readings in connection with the Canon. None of these are found in the Model.

3. Kiss of Peace and Conclusion

The Kiss of Peace

The ensemble of the Typica (save MS 380) describe the kiss of peace exchanged between the brethren immediately after the Ainoi. It is simply mentioned in Sin 150, Vat Gr 2029, and Ivir 754. This latter adds, however, that X. A. is sung during it. Tif 222 says, "... they go out to the front of the church in vestments and the kiss of peace is begun." Nothing further is said of the rite of the kiss.

The other documents describe the ceremony in greater detail. In general they follow the same Ordo as in the Model: priest, deacon, and higumen followed by the brethren kiss first the Gospel held by the priest, then each other. X. A. is sung during the ceremony. The place at which it occurs varies⁵¹. In addition to the X. A., Sin 150 says that the Troparia, "Εὐφραίνεσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοί" and "Αἱ μυροφόραι γυναῖκες" are sung during the ceremony. Vatop 322 gives only the first of these.

Crypt 404 has some peculiarities of its own. First of all, it situates the Doxa of the Paschal Stichoï after the kiss of peace. The Ekphonesis, "Ὅτι σοῦ ἐστὶν ἡ βασιλεία", is assigned to the higumen. There follow the Troparion, "Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος", and a Theotokion, which is specified in the 1677 Horologion as "Τοῦ Γαβριὴλ φθεγγαμένου", and finally the "συνάπτη τῶν αἰτήσεων".

⁵¹ Vatop 322, Tor 216, Crypt 410 situate it at the Holy Doors as in the Model; Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 place it at the stall of the higumen. In Crypt 404 it takes place in the sanctuary itself, where the higumen is seated. The cross or the Gospel is venerated in this latter document. Sin 150 does not specify exactly where it takes place. Ath 788, Mess Gr 115, and Vatop 322 add that the brethren line up around the church as they exchange it with one another.

This series of elements simply reproduces the usual Sunday practice of the Typicon for Sunday Orthros after the Ainoi⁵². According to Tif 222, after the reading the brethren re-enter the church, as in this document the ceremony takes place outside.

The Reading in Connection with This Ceremony

Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Crypt 404 prescribe the reading of Gregory of Nazianzus' Easter homily, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα", during the kiss, before the singing of the X. A. Tif 222, Ivir 754⁵³, and Jena assign it to after the kiss. X. A. is sung three times now according to Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Jena, and Vat Gr 1877. In Vatop 322 the one giving the kiss says, "Χριστὸς ἀνέστη". The one receiving it answers: "Καὶ γὰρ ἀνέστη". Vatop 322 also adds that the brethren have lighted candles.

The only documents which make mention of the Pseudo-Chrysostom homily are Vatop 322, Mess Gr 115, and Vat Gr 1877. In the first case it is read from the ambo by the kanonarch or one of the brethren immediately after the Troparion, "Εὐφρανέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοί". In Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 it occurs only after the "Ὁ ὢν εὐλογητός" of the Apolysis⁵⁴. It is read by the higumen. Its location in the middle of the concluding elements of the Apolysis is certainly strange. The title which it bears in both of these manuscripts (Mess Gr 115: "εἰς τὸ Πάσχα εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμόν..." Vat Gr 1877: "εἰς τὸ Ἅγιον Πάσχα, εἰς τὸν ἀσπασμόν") clearly points to its use as being a reading in connection with the kiss of peace. At first we might be tempted to consider it a later addition to the true Studite tradition, which seems to have used the homily of Gregory instead. Yet the Pseudo-Chrysostom homily was far from unknown in the Stoudion. Mai published a homily of Theodore for Easter in which the homily is cited in its entirety⁵⁵. Fur-

⁵² In the current usage of this monastery the Ekphonesis had dropped out (in the case of both ordinary Sunday Orthros as well as in that of Easter), but the Troparion-Theotokion remain.

⁵³ DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* I, 246 text and note 3. The word, "Ἀναστάσεως", is missing, but the need of this word for the text to make sense and a comparison with the other documents lead us to suppose that we are dealing with a scribe's error. It will be remembered that this homily was found in connection with the kiss of peace in the later SOPH tradition as represented by *Dres*.

⁵⁴ The critical apparatus of Arranz' edition points out that the remark about the first part of the Apolysis ("Σοφία... Ὁ ὢν εὐλογητός") is a later addition, but probably written by the hand of Luke himself.

⁵⁵ Cf. THEODORE STUDITE, *Sermon on Easter*, pp. 24-25. Theodore attributes the sermon to Chrysostom himself.

thermore, it occurs in Vatop 322, one of the group of early Studite documents. We believe that both of these sermons probably existed side by side in the Studite patristic lectionaries as alternate readings for this occasion. The awkward insertion of the Pseudo-Chrysostom homily into the Apolysis was probably an attempt to include both of the readings without placing them side by side.

Concluding Elements

After the reading Vatop 322 says that the brethren gather together in a group (ἀγγελιδόν) and as they make three Proskyneses the higumen says the prayer and the full Apolysis of Orthros. Vat Gr 2029 does not spell out the details of the Apolysis.

Ivir 754 mentions the Synapte before the Apolysis; Sin 150 and Tif 222 the Ektenes; MS 380 the "djakonnits"⁵⁶ and the prayer of the priest. Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Jena, and Vat Gr 1877 all call for both Ektenes and "συνάπτη τῶν αἰτήσεων" before the Apolysis. Crypt 404 has only the "συνάπτη τῶν αἰτήσεων" and a prayer of Orthros followed by the Apolysis. MS 380 after the Litany calls for the chant of the Sticheron, "Paskha Svjaščennaja (Πάσχα ἱερὸν)". Dmitrievskij does not reproduce the text of this latter document beyond this point.

All of the Typica refer to the Apolysis; Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 404 spell out some of its details.

Conclusion

Thus with regards to the final section of the service, the kiss of peace is very similar to the Model, although some Italo-Greek documents situate it at the stall of the higumen or in the sanctuary instead of at the Holy Doors. Sin 150 and Vatop 322 provide additional poetic material to be sung during the ceremony. In Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Crypt 404 we find the reading of Gregory's homily, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα", during it. Ivir 754 and Jena have the same reading immediately after the ceremony. Vatop 322, however, has only the Pseudo-Chrysostom reading. Mess Gr 115 and Tor 216 also include this latter reading but in a position which is clearly not primitive. We have shown why we believe that both of these homilies were in Studite collections as readings for the kiss of peace after Easter Orthros.

⁵⁶ This word is not found in the dictionaries of Old Church Slavonic. A comparison with the other documents points to the fact that it refers to some Litany sung by the deacon.

Many of the manuscripts speak of a concluding Litany. Sin 150 specifies the Ektenes as does the Model. Ivir 754 has the Synapte and Crypt 404, the Aitesis. Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Jena have both Ektenes and Aitesis. The final prayer of Orthros is mentioned in Vatop 322 and Crypt 404.

CHAPTER FOUR

LITURGY OF SAINT JOHN CHRYSOSTOM

1. Documents Which Make Only Brief Mention of the Liturgy

The morning Liturgy need not detain us long, for once again this group of documents follows very closely the practice of the Great Church⁵⁷. Ath 788 simply says: "Ἡ λειτουργία τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας". Beyond this, it limits itself to indicating the text of the Eisodikon and pointing out that at the entrance there is a Doxa followed by the Easter Kontakion and the Synapte of the Trisagion. Instead of the Trisagion, Gal 3,27 is sung. Vatop 322, similarly makes reference to the Great Church:

Δεῖ εἰδέναι ὅτι εἰς τὴν θείαν λειτουργίαν τὰ κατὰ συνήθειαν ψαλλόμενα ἀντίφωνα τό· Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου τὸν Κύριον καὶ τὰ ἐξῆς οὐ λέγομεν, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τὰ τῆς μεγάλης ἐκκλησίας παραδεδομένα.

Beyond this it simply says that the Prokeimenon, the Apostle, and Alleluia are sung from within the sanctuary by the deacon, likewise the Gospel by the protopriest.

2. The Beginning of the Liturgy

Crypt 404 has the Easter Stichoi with X. A. after the initial blessing with the Liturgy. These are followed by the Troparion, "Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος", entitled, "Ἐξεγερτικόν"⁵⁸. This, in turn, is followed by "ἡ ἀπόλυσις: Ἡ χάρις τοῦ παναγίου καὶ ἀγαθοῦ", a sort of greeting formula which the 1677 Horologion reproduces in full. This is finally followed by "Βασιλεῦ οὐράνιε κτλ. .".

⁵⁷ Apparently Vat Gr 2029 and Ivir 754 have nothing to say about the morning Liturgy.

⁵⁸ The expression "Ἐξεγερτικόν", with its reference to rising from sleep is applied to this Troparion because of its ordinary use in connection with the Invivatory psalm (Ps. 117) of the nocturnal section of festal Orthros. Consequently, it bears no relationship to its function here at the Liturgy.

Sin 150 calls for the lighting of all the candles in the church before the beginning of the Liturgy.

The other codices begin with a mention of the Antiphons: Sin 150, Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877 and Crypt 404. The Antiphons are basically the same as in SOPH, save for minor differences in the division of the Stichoi, etc.⁵⁹.

Sin 150 and all the Italo-Greek Typica give the Eisodikon followed by the refrain of the third Antiphon (X. A.) as in SOPH. After the Doxa we find the Easter Kontakion in Tif 222, Ath 788 and all the Italo-Greek Typica (save Jena which mentions nothing here), as in the *Dres* and *Prophetologia* versions of SOPH. Sin 150, instead, has after the Doxa the Troparion, "Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ" as we found also in the Italo-Greek *Prophetologion F*⁶⁰. The Model's Hypacoe, "Προλαβοῦσαι", is absent at this point.

3. Gal 3,27 and the Readings

After this Ath 788 singles out the Synapte of the Trisagion, whereas Tif 222 explicitly says that it is omitted. Gal 3,27 in place of the Trisagion, Prokeimenon (with one Stichos), Apostle, Alleluia, and Gospel follow in Sin 150, Ath 788, Tif 222, and the Italo-Greek Typica, as in SOPH. Vatop 322 says that the Prokeimenon is sung from within the sanctuary by the deacon; Vat Gr 1877 says that it is sung in the bema by the priests⁶¹. The Apostle is read by the deacon from within the sanctuary according to Vatop 322, Tif 222, Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, Vat Gr 1877, and Jena. According to Crypt 404 it is sung first in Greek and then in Latin, the latter reading being preceded by a "τῶν Λατίνων εὐχή". In Vat Gr 1877, the Alleluia is sung by the deacon.

⁵⁹ In the first and third Antiphons we find in Mess Gr 115 a curious repetition of the first Stichos prefixed to the text of the second Stichos. This was the normal practice for the execution of Antiphons of the Liturgy in this codex.

⁶⁰ This is an interesting point of contact between two Studite-type documents of geographically different origin.

⁶¹ This indication of Vat Gr 1877 is not clear. Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica I*, p. 887. After affirming that the Apostle was read within the sanctuary by the deacon, we find in a note at the end of the entry on the Liturgy: "Ἰστέον ὅτι καὶ τὸ προκείμενον τοῦ ἀποστόλου ἔσωθεν τοῦ βήματος λέγεται ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων..." thus contradicting what was said above. We are perhaps to interpret "ἱερέων" in a very broad sense as "officiating clergy".

4. The Reading of the Gospel

According to Vatop 322, Ath 788, Tif 222, and Tor 216 the Gospel is sung from the sanctuary. In the first three manuscripts it is sung by the protopriest; in the last, by the higumen. Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 indicate that the Gospel is to be read both by the deacon outside the sanctuary and the higumen (Mess Gr 115: protopriest) from within the bema. Vat Gr 1609 once again parts company with Mess Gr 115 in that the Gospel is read only from within the sanctuary by the deacon. In Jena the priest reads it from within the sanctuary. Thus, once again we find that the Italo-Greek Typica follow SOPH closer than all the others.

The mode of execution of this double reading in the Italo-Greek Typica likewise imitates that of SOPH. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 describe it thus: "While the higumen or first priest reads it from within, "ἔξωθεν δὲ ἐν τῷ ἁμβωνί ἀντιφωνεῖται παρὰ τοῦ διακόνου, τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον λέγοντος αὐτοῦ, ὅνπερ ἐκεῖνος ἐνδοθεν." Tor 216 says that the deacon repeats the text from the ambo "κατὰ δὲ στίχον καὶ λόγον". It adds that after the reading the higumen bows to those in the sanctuary.

Crypt 404 as in the case of the Apostle simply says that the Gospel is read both in Greek and Latin, a verse of one followed by a verse of the other. This reproduces another aspect of SOPH practice (in the case of the Gospel) not presented by the other Italo-Greek Typica.

Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 say that the semandra are rung during the Gospel.

5. Other Items

From this point on, Tor 216 simply says that the Ektenes follows along with the rest of the Chrysostom Liturgy. Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877, Crypt 404, and Jena call for the Cherubikon to be sung three times as at the Vigil Liturgy, once again in line with SOPH practice, unlike the Model, which has it only once. Sin 150, Ath 788, and the Italo-Greek Typica all have the Koinonikon of the Model. Tif 222 on the other hand indicates, "Plot' i krov'". We do not know to what Greek chant this corresponds. Ath 788 calls for the Koinonikon to be sung three times. In Sin 150, it is used as a refrain between the lines of a Troparion: "Μέγα

τὸ μυστήριον τῆς σῆς, Χριστὲ, ἀναστάσεως". Crypt 404 calls for the X. A. instead of the "Εἰς τὸ ὄνομα" as in the Model. Also, it indicates that it is to be sung three times after the "Εὐλογία Κυρίου ἐφ' ἡμᾶς..."

In Crypt 404 the community goes to the chapter after the Liturgy and from there to the refectory for the blessing of the eggs, singing X. A. along the way.

6. Conclusions

With regards, then, to the morning Liturgy, we find that the only items which differ from the Model are the following:

- 1) the absence of the Hypacoe after the entrance.
- 2) the chant of the Prokeimenon from within the sanctuary by the deacon or the priest in Vatop 322 and Vat Gr 1877.
- 3) the reading of the Apostle within the sanctuary by the deacon in Vatop 322 and the Italo-Greek Typica, save Crypt 404, which as the Apostle in both Greek and Latin.
- 4) the reading of the Gospel within the sanctuary by the higumen or the protopriest in Vatop 322 and the Italo-Greek Typica, save Crypt 404 which has the Gospel both in Latin and Greek. Further, the Italo-Greek Typica imitate SOPH practice in having the Gospel read not only by the higumen or protopriest from inside but also by the deacon outside the sanctuary.
- 5) Tif 222 seems to have a Koinonikon different from that of the Model. Sin 150, moreover, uses the Model's Koinonikon as a sort of refrain in between the lines of another Troparion.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON

PART ONE

Vespers and Liturgy

The first part of Vespers in both the Studite documents (in the measure in which they describe this part) and in the Model show a similarity of structure. The most important point of difference is the fact that the Anastasima Stichera of the Model for Ps 140 are totally absent in all the documents of the Studite family. While there is no unanimity as to the Idiomela which are sung, the three "Σήμερον" Stichera are found more frequently than any others.

The second part of Vespers likewise remains close to the structure of the Model. This structure, as we know, however, is that borrowed from the Great Church. The Studite documents follow this even more closely than does the Model, as witnessed by the following items:

- 1) Ath 788's use of the word, "μεγαλεῖον", for the Gospel carried in the entrance procession.
- 2) the presence of the Prokeimenon Ps 64,4 before the OT readings in all the manuscripts save Ath 788 and Tif 222; this in contrast with the Model which transfers it to before the Apostle.
- 3) the presence of Scriptural refrains with the canticles following the sixth and fifteenth readings.
- 4) the limitation of the OT readings to seven, if there is no practical need of the others (Sin 150).
- 5) the entrance of the clergy after the Dan 3 canticle with the chant of Ps 31,1 with Stichoi in imitation of the entry of the patriarch and the newly-baptized. (Italo-Greek documents)
- 6) the absence of the Prokeimenon at the Liturgy (Italo-Greek documents).
- 7) the chant of the Cherubikon three times instead of the Model's "Σιγησάτω" (Italo-Greek documents and possibly Tif 222). In any case the "Σιγησάτω" is missing in all of these manuscripts.

One important point of difference between these documents and the Model which is not traceable to SOPH influence is the Synapte which we find in quite a few documents after the entrance into the Sanctuary. This, as we have seen, seems to have been the normal practice in the case of a Eucharistic celebration in connection with Vespers.

Meal

The meal takes place in the narthex or the refectory, not in the church as in the Model. There is no reading from Acts. We find a lack of concordance about the character of this meal in the light of the variety of menus presented by the various documents.

Intermediate Office

Only Ath 788 has this as in the Model, with some differences, however. Most of the Italo-Greek documents have some form of Compline which differs in content as well as in name from the Pannychis of the Model. Crypt 404 and Tif 222 have only a brief prayer service in the refectory.

This office is separated from Orthros by an interval of time in the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis along with the Italo-Greek Typica, whereas Tor 216 and Ath 788 seem to provide for a continuous prayer service between the two as in the Model.

Orthros

The elements preceding the initial "blessing" in the narthex follow the Model rather closely, save that Tor 216 alone notes that only the lamplighter remains in the church. None of these documents mention the burning of incense in the fixed thuribles as described in the Model.

With regards to the rest of the first section of the service, Chart D presents a summary view of the different structures of the various manuscripts. As regards concrete similarities to the Model, the one element found in all of the manuscripts and which is common to both traditions is the presence of the chant of the Easter Troparion followed by psalm verses sung with the same Troparion. Even here, however, the psalm in question is different in each of the two traditions. The Model uses Ps 67, whereas the Studite tradition calls for Ps 117. Beyond this, certain manuscripts have an initial blessing as in the Model, but in some cases the same text is not used. Other manuscripts have no blessing at all. As

regards the place in which these various liturgical items are sung, Crypt 404 comes closest to the prescription of the Model: Blessing, Easter Troparion, psalm verses with Troparion are all sung in the narthex. It has no Synapte, however, and the entrance into the church takes place to the chant of the Canon (as in HS 43 and in current Greek practice). Ath 788 also has some Stichoi in the narthex, but the last two are used for the procession through the church. The other manuscripts situate all of the Stichoi within the church itself. The Synapte is found only in Ath 788 and the Italo-Greek Typica (save Crypt 404).

Further, in this same section there are several items which do not appear at all in the Model:

- 1) Sin 150's initial Pater, Synapte and prayer.
- 2) Tif 222's Orthros prayer before the X. A. and the Paschal Stichoi.
- 3) Sin 150's strange "Κύριε, εὐλόγησον" and the elements following it, and Vatop 322's "Τῷ Κυρίῳ ἔσωμεν" immediately before the Canon.
- 4) Ps 23, vv. 9-10a before the entrance in Vat Gr 1537 and the Grottaferrata *Horologion* of 1677 (Mess Gr 115 has the incipit of v. 9 in a marginal note).

For the section of the office extending from the Canon up to the kiss of peace, we found that in an earlier group of documents the service does not seem to depart from normal Sunday practice. In the later documents there is closer conformity to the Model in that these omit Ps 50 and the Great Doxology. Among these latter we saw that certain ones of the group have special Easter Sunday Stichera in connection with the Ainoi, while others have the Anastasima of the Model. Finally as regards the verses from Ps 67 which follow the Ainoi, it was noticed that only two Stichoi were used along with two Stichera (three in two manuscripts) all of which have the same rhythmic pattern. Only one Sticheron is used in connection with the Doxa.

With regards to the final section of the service, the general outlines follow those of the Model. Certain manuscripts have special hymnic material sung in conjunction with the kiss. It would seem that both Gregory's homily, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα", and that of Pseudo-Chrysostom, "Εἴ τις εὐσεβής", were known in the Studite tradition as possible readings for the kiss of peace. In the Italo-Greek Typica, however, the former seems to have

won out as the actual reading for the ceremony. Two of these, nonetheless, fit the other homily into the Apolysis in an attempt to include both.

Liturgy

Apart from the absence of the Hypacoe after the entrance, the main differences between these documents and the Model concern the manner of execution of the Prokeimenon, Apostle, and Gospel. The reading of the Gospel by both priest and deacon is one more instance of the fidelity of the Italo-Greek Typica to the prescriptions of SOPH.

Note on the Later Typica of Mount Athos

The Typica currently used in various Athonite monasteries, which are reproduced in part by Dmitrievskij⁶² do not concern us directly, as they date, for the most part, from the 19th century. A brief glance at their contents for the Easter celebrations, however, shows that they have managed to preserve a few of those elements proper to the Studite tradition as opposed to that of Sabba. Among these we might point out the following.

- 1) Dionysiou and Iviron have the meal in the refectory rather than in the narthex, as in Tif 222 and the Italo-Greek Typica.
- 2) Grigoriou has the kiss of peace at the stall of the higumen, as in Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877.
- 3) Panteleimon, Kostamonitou, Dionysiou, and Iviron have a reading from Chrysostom's commentary on Matthew or John after the Apolysis of the Pannychis, time permitting. This recalls a similar item in Ath 788.
- 4) Panteleimon, Kostamonitou, Dionysiou, Iviron, Grigoriou, and Hagios Pavlos have all preserved the reading of the Gospel by both priest and deacon.

⁶² The pertinent material is found on the following pages of DMITRIEV-SKIJ, *Typica* II: for Panteleimon, Dionysiou, Iviron, and Kostamonitou, pp. 624-29; for Grigoriou, pp. 675-80; for Hagios Pavlos, pp. 648-54.

Part Two

THE SABBITE TRADITION

INTRODUCTION

EARLY WITNESSES

The earliest examples we have of the fully elaborated Sabba Typicon date only from the 12th century. An 11th century Triodion-Pentecostarion (Vat Reg Gr 58-59) with rather complete rubrical indications, however, gives us a fairly good idea of 11th century practice. Its previous history has to be pieced together as well as possible from various other sources.

We have already found some interesting remarks in the Sinai exemplar of the Georgian Lectionary of Jerusalem concerning the Easter service at the monastery of Sabba itself at some period during or after the eighth century. There are considerable differences between the Vigil described there and that of 12th century Sabba practice. In general outline the Vigil followed closely the structure of the Jerusalem Vigil itself:

Procession around the three churches of the monastery
in silence

Ps 112

Vesperarum canon: Ps 1 (—8?)

12 readings (of the ancient Jerusalem cursus) with Pss 9-20
intercalated between them. The Exodus canticle
(Ex 15,1-21) is sung with v. 1 as a refrain, which is
called Hypacoe.

Liturgy celebrated in three different churches

(GEORG S 721-735)

Apart from the monastic element of the "Vesperarum canon" of psalmody (continued, it would seem, in the psalmody between the readings) the service is obviously modeled very closely on that of the Jerusalem Cathedral Ordo as described by GEORG. It is

interesting to note that the *psalmodia currens* which had disappeared by the time of the later Sabba Typicon was present in earlier practice.

The document is less helpful with regard to Orthros. It simply relates that after this service, the brethren exchange the kiss of peace at the tomb of Sabba (756). Another kiss of peace takes place during the Creed at the morning Liturgy (*ibid*).

The next mention we found concerning the Sabba services was in the account of the Russian pilgrim Daniel, where there is described the participation of the Sabba monks in the celebration of the Easter services in the Anastasis. Here, however, we are in a slightly different context. These monks, living "in exile" in their Jerusalem metochion are partly participating in the services of the Anastasis (in the measure that this is still possible during the Latin Kingdom) and partly celebrating their own services within their metochion. Thus, at the Vigil we find them present with their higumen among the Orthodox clergy participating in the celebration of these latter "na grobe gore"¹. After the appearance of the Holy Fire, they return to their metochion to complete the celebration of Vespers. The following morning, Orthros is likewise celebrated in the same place. After the service we find the same kiss of peace that was mentioned in GEORG SABBA. There is then a procession to the Holy Sepulchre with the chant of the Easter Kontakion. The guardian then presents to them the lamps they had placed there to receive the Holy Fire. After venerating the sepulchre they go to the great altar to exchange the kiss of peace with the Orthodox clergy. Finally, they return home to rest until the Liturgy.

With HS 43 we find that the 12th century Sabba Liturgy has already been in large measure adopted for use in the Anastasis itself. Indeed, as we have seen, by the period of the Latin kingdom the monks were probably called upon to provide for the celebrations in this church. Their Typicon would for all practical purposes eventually replace the Cathedral Typicon of the Anastasis. Despite this close interplay of the liturgies of Sabba and that of the Anastasis, we are surprised to find that a certain number of the features proper to the Jerusalem celebration have been lost by the time of the earliest copies of the fully elaborated Sabba Typicon.

Our study of the Sabba tradition will be divided into four parts corresponding to Sabba type documents found in the manuscripts of the collections of 1) the Jerusalem Patriarchate (including

¹ VENEVITINOV, *Zit'e*, p. 133.

codices of the monastery of Sabba itself, which now form part of the patriarchal library), 2) the monastery of St. Catherine at Mount Sinai, 3) the monastery of St. John the Theologian on the island of Patmos, and finally 4) various libraries containing Sabba type manuscripts but not constituting Byzantine liturgical centers themselves.

CHAPTER ONE

LATER DOCUMENTS OF THE JERUSALEM PATRIARCHATE

We return once again to the liturgical practice of Palestine, but of a later period in its history. The codices studied here originated either in Jerusalem or in the monastery of Sabba itself. In this group we include certain manuscripts which, although they are found in other libraries, are obviously of Palestinian origin.

As will be seen, all of the documents in question are Typica. While Sticheraria and Triodia-Pentecostaria are not wanting in the collection of the Jerusalem Patriarchate, we were not able to study them in the Library of Congress microfilm collection. The documents here studied date for the most part from the 12th and 13th centuries. Included in this group is HS 43, the study of which we will here continue. As was pointed out above, this document is not only a witness to the Jerusalem Cathedral Ordo but also to the Sabbite tradition, thanks to the increasing role of the Sabba monks in the performance of the services in the Anastasis during the period of the Crusades. Thus we consider it here as one version of this latter tradition. The details of those ceremonies which are clearly inspired by the physical presence of the Holy Sepulchre we take for granted, having studied these in the first section. Another codex of the greatest importance is Sin 1096 which was clearly used in the monastery of Sabba itself.

1. Description of the Manuscripts

- 1) HS 67 Apostolos. 11th-12th century.
 PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitike Bibliotheke*, 124-25;
 DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 407, note 1, who cites it by its
 older catalog number (25).
 Material used: ff. 197r-199r (brief description of the first part of
 Holy Saturday Vespers and text of the Apostle for the Liturgy).
 According to Papadopoulos-Kerameus the folia on which the

material we used occurs are among those which date from the 11th century.

- 2) HS 43 cf. pp. 12-18.

- 3) Sin 1095 Typicon ... of Sabba 12th century.
 GARDTHAUSEN, pp. 221-22; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 65-68;
 90-91 who reproduces limited portions of the text.
 Material used: ff. 134r-137r.

- 4) Sin 1094 Typicon ... of Sabba 12th century (Skaballanovič,
 Benešević, and Gardthausen)
 12th-13th century (Dmitri-
 evskij)

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 221; BENEŠEVIČ I, 176; SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, p. 412, note 1; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 1-20 who reproduces limited portions of the text.

Studied on microfilm of Library of Congress collection.

Material used: f. 86.

According to Skaballanovic, p. 412, note 1, this manuscript is "... an ancient representative of the Jerusalem ordo in that shape which it had before the introduction of Studite Canons and Stichera." The manuscript ends after the Liturgy of Holy Saturday.

- 5) Sin 1096 Typicon ... of Sabba 12th century (Dmitrievskij)
 12th-13th century (Benešević)
 14th century (Gardthausen)

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 222; BENEŠEVIČ I, 176-77; BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 29-30; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 20-64.

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 64-65 (only brief mention of Vespers, followed by the text of Orthros; no mention of the morning Liturgy).

Baumstark has called attention to the great interest of this manuscript. There are several indications which seem to point to the fact that it was originally intended for use in the monastery of Sabba itself, although it later found its way into a certain monastery of SS. Sergios and Bacchos (cf. marginal notes on ff. 30, 32, 39, and 51). The title, for instance, refers exclusively to the monastery of Sabba and does not have the additional phrase found in many other exemplars of the Sabba Typicon, "Typicon of the services performed in the monastery of our Holy Father Sabba

and in the other monasteries of Jerusalem." More important are other elements found within the text itself. The name of St. Sabba and the Troparion in his honor are given great importance through the Typicon. He is named, for instance, with the Theotokos at the end of the little Synapte. His feast on Dec. 5 is celebrated in the burial chapel. Finally, there are commemorations of Persian and Moslem attacks on the monastery on March 20 and May 15. In a note on p. 30, Baumstark also lists the churches of the monastery which occur in the document. He also refers to a note alluding to the period of the Crusades, but he is not specific as to where it is found.

- 6) Sabba 312 Typicon ... of Sabba 1201 A. D.

PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitike Bibliothek* II, 441-444; BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, p. 29; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 68-70, who presents very brief excerpts.

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 69-70 (introduction to Vespers, Ps 81,8, Orthros up until the general remarks on the Canon.)

- 7) Lavra A 99 Typicon ... of Sabba 12th century (Eustratiades)
13th century (Dmitrievskij)

EUSTRATIADIS, *Catalogue Lavra*, p. 281; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 81-101; 101-114.

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, pp. 90-92 (Easter Orthros both in the usual manner of celebration as well as in the case of the coincidence with the feast of the Annunciation.)

- 8) Bibl Nat Coislin Gr 402 Typicon ... of Sabba 13th century
(Dmitrievskij)
14th century (Omont)

OMONT III, 189; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 121-27.

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, pp. 125-26 (Holy Saturday Vespers through Ps 81,8, Stichoi for the X. A. at the beginning of Easter Orthros.)

- 9) HS 15 Triodion 13th century.

PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitike Bibliothek* III, 39; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, pp. 413-14, who cites it by its older catalog number (14).

Studied in microfilm of Library of Congress collection.

Material used: ff. 155v-164r.

Dmitrievskij's assertion that the codex was "... undoubtedly in use in the liturgical practice of the ancient Jerusalem church and specifically of the Church of the Lord's Sepulchre" seems strange in the light of the fact that in the Holy Saturday and Easter entries, at least, the officiating minister is simply a priest, no mention being made of the Patriarch or even a bishop.

- 10) Sabba 628 Typicon ... of Sabba 13th century.

PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitike Bibliothek* II, 621-22. Studied in microfilm of Library of Congress collection.

Material used: ff. 151r-156r.

- 11) Sabba 311 Typicon ... of Sabba 15th century (Papadopoulos-Kerameus)
16th century (Dmitrievskij)

PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Hierosolymitike Bibliothek* II, 440-41; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 346-61.

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, pp. 357-59 (note on Ps 81,8; Orthros through the third Ode of the Canon).

2. Vespers in These Documents

The ensemble of the Typica which we have studied follow the Model very closely for the entire service of Vespers and Liturgy. The significant items which differ are the following:

1) *The Prokeimenon Before the OT Readings.* The only documents which we have studied that omit the Prokeimenon at this point (as in the Model) are Sin 1094 and 1095, and HS 15. In the other documents we find Ps 92,1 (the usual Saturday evening Prokeimenon). The Prokeimenon Ps 65,4 found in SOPH and the Italo-Greek documents before the OT readings has been transferred in all of these documents to the Liturgy as in the case of the Model.

2) Both Ex 15,1-21 and Dan 3,57-88 are sung as in SOPH with their respective scriptural refrains in those documents which treat of the readings.

3) The "Συγγράτω" is not found in any of the documents.

The Special Case of HS 43

HS 43, as will be remembered, presents a structural peculiarity in that the order of Vespers is continued beyond the OT

readings. This is not usual in the Sabba tradition, which omits the section of Vespers following the Prokeimenon, when a Liturgy is to be celebrated. Thus this manuscript includes all the elements of the last part of Vespers: "Καταξίωσον", Aposticha, Cantic of Simeon, Apolytikion, prayer of patriarch. Only after Vespers have been concluded do the baptisms take place. The Liturgy which follows is provided with a "στιχηρὸν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον".

As regards individual items, HS 43 stands apart from the Model in the following points:

- 1) The variable psalmody is performed.
- 2) The Stichera for Ps 140. While HS 43 has in common with the Model the first three Anastasima Stichera of the first tone, it omits the fourth. After these three instead of using the "Σήμερον" Stichera used by the Model it provides a series of five "ἀνατολικά" in which there occur three that bear this same name in the present day first tone Octoechos collection for Saturday Vespers: "Εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοί", "Τῷ σαρκὶ ἐκουσίως σταυρωθέντα" (which begins in the present day version: "Τὸν σαρκὶ..."), and "Τὸν τῷ πατρὶ συνάναρχον". Two others, "Ὁ σταυρὸν ἐκουσίως καταδύμενος" and "Ὁ βασιλεὺς τῶν οὐρανῶν" are from the group of three first-tone Stichera from a collection of Idiomela in the eight tones which formerly was part of the standard Octoechos collection². Thus the entire series of Stichera used by HS 43 stem from the Octoechos collection, to the exclusion of Stichera belonging to the Holy Saturday collection, despite the fact that the three "Σήμερον" Stichera are used elsewhere in the manuscript³.

With the *Doxa* we find the usual first tone Anastasimon Doxastikon as in the Model, but there is no separate Sticheron for the *Kai nyn*. Thus once again the proper Holy Saturday Sticheron has been excluded.

- 3) The Prokeimenon Ps 92,1 is sung before the readings as in the other documents of this group. Once again, ordinary Saturday practice is maintained.

² TARDO, *Octoecho*, p. XVI speaks of this collection as being used at Sunday evening Vespers. It even made its way into the 1772 Horologion of Grottaferrata, p. 629, for this precise use. STRUNK, *Specimena*, p. 17 likewise says that the collection is usually found in connection with Sunday Vespers in musical manuscripts that use the Coislin and early Middle Byzantine notations. In the course of the 14th century it is omitted more frequently. It seems to have disappeared even earlier at the Lavra and Vatopedi.

³ They occur in connection with the Stichoi from Ps 92 at the end of Holy Saturday Orthros. Cf. PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, pp. 178-79.

- 4) The Exodus and Daniel canticles are sung with their scriptural refrains as in SOPH. SOPH's Prokeimenon after the third reading (Ps 26,1b) has also been maintained.

- 5) The Stichera following the "Καταξίωσον" of Vespers are taken from the fund of Easter Stichera which have come down to us in various manuscript collections. They are centered around the theme of light. With them are used Ps 96,11 (a psalm which had been used in GEORG's processions) and Ps 35, 10b-11a.

As regards the Liturgy, while HS 43 parallels the Model in the adoption of certain SOPH elements (Gal 2,27 instead of the Trisagion, Prokeimenon before the Apostle, Apostle, Ps 81,8 instead of the Alleluia, Gospel, alternate Koinonikon), it nonetheless has managed to preserve other elements (mostly hymnic ones) not found in SOPH:

- 1) Sticheron for the Eisodos: "Ὁ ἄγγελός σου, Κύριε" from the Anastasima Stichera of the plagal fourth tone for the Ainoi followed by *Doxa* and the Holy Saturday Kontakion: "Τὴν ἄβυσσον".
- 2) "Στιχηρὸν εἰς τὰ ἅγια: Τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐνδόξου" frequently found in the various manuscript collections of Paschal Stichera (without this designation, of course). Here it is sung with a Stichos: Ps 79,3bc.
- 3) Instead of the Cherubikon: "Ἐξηγέρθητι, Χριστέ" likewise frequently found in the collections of Paschal Stichera. Thus no mention is made of the "Σιγησάτω".
- 4) The first Koinonikon listed is the "Σῶμα Χριστοῦ" which SOPH uses for the Easter morning Liturgy.
- 5) The special "εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος: Ὁ μέγα κῆτος χειρωσάμενος".

A Variant of Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat 402

Sabba 612 and Bib Nat 402 present an interesting variant for the beginning of Vespers. In these documents we find that the brethren gather in the narthex before the beginning of the service. The doors are closed. The priest vested in white sticharion and black phelonion (the Paris manuscript omits these notes on the colors of the vestments) comes to the narthex incensing. He is preceded by two lamps. When he arrives he incenses the brethren, then makes the sign of the cross in the doors, which are then opened. When all have entered, Vespers begins. The close parallelism with the beginning of Orthros suggests that the ritual pattern for this ceremony was provided by this latter. While

it is possible that we have here merely an imitation of the structure of the morning office we must consider the possibility that this silent gathering outside the church in these documents might stem from the earlier Sabba practice described in GEORG S:

... a sexta hora ad vesperarum orationem congregantur, et cum tribus turibulis tres ecclesias circumeunt cum silentio et ter incenso incensant. Et postea dicunt psalmum, modum (Ps 112,2 / Stichus: *ibid.*, 1) ... Et postea incipiunt et cum vesperarum canone ...

This latter practice as we have seen seems to have been inspired by the Jerusalem procession before Vespers, such as we found in GEORG.

The ceremony in Sabba 612 and Bib Nat 402, as a matter of fact, presents points of contact with one or other of these traditions:

- 1) The gathering outside the church in silence reflects the three silent processions around the churches of the monastery in GEORG SABBA.
- 2) The closing of the doors followed by a subsequent opening for the entrance recalls similar points in GEORG JER.
- 3) The arrival of the priest preceded by lamps might be related to the lighting of the lamps before the entrance in GEORG JER.

3. Meal and Intermediate Office

We find nothing concerning this section in HS 43 which is, of course, not properly a monastic document. Sin 1095 and Sabba 628 follow the details of the Model, save that Sin 1095 gives as an alternative for the Pseudo-Epiphanius reading following the third Ode of the Canon (Pannychis): a reading of Chrysostom chosen from his Commentaries on the beginning of John or of Matthew. The only other item touched upon by Dmitrievskij is a note that the meal takes place in the church in Sabba 312 and Bib Nat 402 as in the Model.

Sin 1096 also follows the Model with some variations. There is a short pause after the meal and the reading from Acts. The intermediate office is called "τὰ ἀπόδειπνα". It is followed by readings (from Chrysostom's Commentaries on the beginning of Matthew or John) to fill up the interval between the Apolysis and midnight. The superior, however, can substitute for Compline a simplified office consisting of Ps 50, the Holy Saturday Canon

with the Kontakion and the aforementioned readings. No mention is made of inserts in the Canon, save the Kontakion (and even this is not explicit).

4. Orthros

Initial Procession in HS 43

The manuscripts present no special variant from the Model as regards the preliminaries of Orthros, save HS 43, which provides for a procession from the secretion to the doors of the Anastasis with the chant of the Sticheron: "Ὁ ἄγγελός σου, Κύριε" and the Easter Kontakion, "Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ".

Dmitrievskij⁴ says that HS 15 has a similar procession before Orthros during which the Stichera, "Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ ὅσος τε" and "Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε" are sung. A reading of the manuscript itself, however, shows that there is no mention of a procession. Under the simple heading of Easter Sunday the two Stichera to which Dmitrievskij alludes are given *in extenso* without any further determination of their use. After these we find under the heading of Orthros a series of rubrical indications directing that priest and people come out to the doors for the X. A. with its verses according to normal Sabba practice.

The presence of the two Stichera at the head of the Easter Sunday entry and before the rubrical description of Orthros is curious indeed. It will be noted, however, that these two Stichera are among those found in various Sticheria and Typica of the Studite tradition, where they seem to have been assigned to the Ainoi according to the more primitive practice of this tradition. As we shall see shortly, they continue to appear in the Sabbite Sticheria, but since they are no longer assigned to a concrete use in the liturgy, they are usually presented in anthological-like collections bearing only the heading of Easter Sunday without indications as to where they are to be used.

We believe that HS 15 in placing them after the heading of Easter Sunday but before the rubrical directives for Orthros is following the practice of these Sticheria. Bringing together as it does material from the most varied sources (Apostle and Gospel readings, poetic texts, rubrics) the manuscript has relegated material no longer in use to a section prior to its actual description of the

⁴ Cf. DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 413.

service of Easter Sunday morning. This is precisely what was done in Vat Gr 788, as we have already seen⁵.

Opening Section

Sin 1096 situates the first part of Orthros "... εἰς τὴν ἁγίαν μάνδραν" ⁶ (burial chapel of Sabba) rather than in the narthex. This item provides an interesting link with the earlier Sabba practice described in the Georgian Lectionary: "... ad matutinum cum omne officium absolverint super Sabae monumento ..." ⁷.

The signing of the royal doors, the initial blessing, followed by X. A. thrice by the priest and thrice by the assistants are present in all the codices as in the Model. In HS 43, after the initial blessing, the patriarch sings three times the Sticheron, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ δεξιᾶ..." as far as the word, "περιπτύζομεθα". He then continues with the rest of the Sticheron: "Εἰπωμεν, ἀδελφοί", which concludes with the X. A. This latter is repeated once by the assistants.

The Stichoi then follow in all the manuscripts. Only Sabba 628 and Sin 1095 have the same three Stichoi as in the Model. The others have the following:

HS 43	Sin 1096	HS 15	Sabba 311, 312; Lavra A 99; Bib Nat Gr 402
—	—	—	Ps 117,1
Ps 67,2	Ps 67,2	Ps 67,2	—
ibid., 3-4a	ibid., 3ab	ibid., 3ab	—
—	—	ibid., 3c-4a	—
Ps 117,20	—	—	—
ibid., 24	Ps 117,24	Ps 117,24	ibid., 24
—	—	—	ibid., 27b
ibid., 19	—	—	—
(Doxa not mentioned) Doxa	—	Doxa	Doxa

Thus only Sin 1095 and Sabba 628 use Ps 67 alone for these Stichoi. All of the other manuscripts either use Ps 117 alone or choose verses from both psalms.

⁵ Cf. pp. 204-206.

⁶ This place seems to have been the burial chapel of St. Sabba, inasmuch as mention is made of the reliquary of the Saint around which the brethren stand.

⁷ The kiss of peace also appears in Daniel's account. Cf. pp. 280-81.

In addition to these psalm verses, we find in HS 43 Ps 23, 7a-8b inserted in a later but still ancient hand before the initial blessing. In Sabba 311 it is only after the Doxa and the repetition of the first half of the X. A. by the priest that we find verses from Ps 23. Here these are presented in the form of a dialogue between the priest (in the narthex) and the candlelighter (within the church):

Priest (knocking three times on the door): Ps 23,9a

Candlelighter: *ibid.*, 10a

Priest: *ibid.*, 10b

After this the doors are opened, and all enter as the second half of the X. A. is sung by the assistants. Finally, HS 15 also has Ps 23,9 but situates it not only after the Doxa and final repetition of the X. A., but after the Synapte which follows this.

According to the other manuscripts, after the Doxa the priest sings the first half of X. A. in a louder voice. The assistants take up the second half and all enter the church, as in the Model. In HS 43, however, there is no mention of the Doxa. After the last verse, it is said that all enter singing the X. A. After this there follows the patriarch's visit to the taphos described in Section One. In the other manuscripts, the Synapte follows the entrance and is sung from within the sanctuary as in the Model (Sin 1095, however, is not explicit on this last point).

The Canon

The Canon is now begun by the higumen (HS 43: by the patriarch). As regards the repetitions of Heirmoi and Troparia we find the following indications.

	Heirmoi	Troparia
HS 43	— no mention	—
Sin 1095	4	6
Sin 1096	4	4
Lavra A 99	4	6
Sabba 312	2 "... ἐν δὲ τοῖς τροπάρτοις ἱστῶμεν * στίχους ιβ' "	
Bib Nat 402	idem.	
Sabba 311	2 "... ἐν δὲ τοῖς τροπάρτοις ἱστῶμεν στίχους ιδ' "	

* The expression, "ἱστῶμεν", usually found in connection with Ps 140 at Vespers and the Ainoi at Orthros to indicate how many Stichera are to be sung with these items, is also used in Mess Gr 115 to indicate the number of verses of the biblical Odes that are to be used in between the Troparia of the Canon. The present case seems to relate to the same practice, unless we are to interpret it as referring to the brief refrains of present day practice, which eventually replaced the biblical verses.

The manuscripts call for the little Synapte after each Ode, save Sin 1095 and 1096.

Hypacoe, Kontakion-Oikos, "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι" (sung three times), Exaposteilarion (save in Sabba 628; in Sin 1096 it is repeated five times) are all found inserted into the Canon in the same places as in the Model.

Readings in Conjunction with the Canon

Save in HS 43, readings from Gregory of Nazianzus are found after the Hypacoe and the Kontakion-Oikos:

	<i>after the Hypacoe</i>	<i>after the Kontakion</i>
Sin 1095, Lavra A 99, Sabba 628	Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς	Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα
Sin 1096	Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα	Πάλιν ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς
Sabba 311	Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς	(not mentioned by Dmitrievskij whose account of this manu- script's Easter services ends here.)

In HS 43 the Exaposteilarion is followed by the usual Sunday Orthros Exaposteilarion: "Ἅγιος κύριος ὁ θεὸς ἡμῶν".

The Ainoi, Paschal Stichoi and Stichera

The Ainoi with the first tone Anastasima Stichera follow in all the Typica as in the Model. HS 43 adds three "ἕτερα στιχηρά" that we found in the same order in Crypt 300, 486, Vat Pius II Gr 30, and Sin 736. HS 15 is unique in the entire group of Sabba manuscripts in that it omits the Ainoi, although it calls for the Anastasima Stichera to be sung: "εἰθ' οὕτως (i.e. after the Exaposteilarion) τὰ ἀναστάσιμα στιχηρά χωρὶς τῶν αἰνῶν". This seems to be related to the same hesitation concerning the Ainoi that we saw in the Studite tradition as represented by Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877.

With regard to the Paschal Stichera and their Stichoi, HS 15 alone indicates all of the Stichera of the Model but adds a verse from Ps 117 to its Stichoi. HS 43 has only three Stichera (the first found in the Model and "Πάσχα ὁ ἀμνὸς ... θεῖον σφάγιον" along with two Stichoi: Ps 67,2; *ibid.*, 3. Curiously, the first Sticheron precedes the first Stichos, an arrangement which we found likewise in Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877. A further point

of contact is that all three Stichera used follow the pattern of the "Πάσχα ἱερόν". The other Typica indicate only the first and sometimes the second Sticheron adding the remark, "etcetera" after these. Similarly they indicate only the first Stichos, save Sin 1096 which indicates all of the Stichoi: Ps 67,2; *ibid.*, 3; Ps 117,24.

In Sin 1095 the Stichera for the *Doxa* and the *Kai nyn* are identical to those in the Model. In HS 43, HS 15, and Sin 1096 there is only one Sticheron used with the *Doxa*: "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα" (HS 43 replaces the word, "Ἀναστάσεως", with "Ἀγγαλιάσεως"). Lavra A 99 and Sabba 628 have the same two Stichera as in the Model.

Concluding Elements

The kiss of peace and the Pseudo-Chrysostom homily follow as in the Model in all manuscripts, save in HS 15 (which makes no mention of the homily) and HS 43. In this latter, after a three-fold repetition of the X. A., we find the service of the reading of the Gospel described in Section One. Only after this do we find the reading of the Pseudo-Chrysostom homily by the archdeacon. This latter is then translated into Arabic by another deacon. Following this we find the chant of the Troparion: "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ ἡ ἀρχὴ δεξιᾶ..." with the same repetitions as at the beginning of Orthros. After it X. A. is sung and then "... ἄρξεται τὸν ἀσπασμὸν ἐν φιλήματι ἀγίῳ, πρῶτον ὁ κλήρος ἔπειτα ὁ λαός". Thus no mention is made of the manner in which it is exchanged. Ektenes and Apolysis follow in all manuscripts as in the Model.

5. Liturgy

The only item which differs from the Model is the absence of the Hypacoe after the Eisodikon in Sabba 628 and Sin 1095. HS 43 adds a "στιχηρὸν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον: Ὁ ἀγγελὸς σου, Κύριε" before the Antiphons (which are sung from the ambo). After the Eisodikon and the Kontakion there is no Hypacoe. The X. A. is sung both by patriarch and deacon. There is a "στιχηρὸν εἰς τὰ ἅγια: Πάσχα ἱερόν" with Stichos Ps 67,2. Instead of the Cherubikon we find "Ἐξηγέρθη Χριστέ" as at the Vigil Liturgy. The Koinonikon is "Ἀγγελοι σκιρτήσατε" (found in various manuscript collections of Easter Stichera). A special "εὐχὴ ὀπισθάμβωνος" is provided:

“Λάμπρα ἡμῶν καὶ σωτήριος”. The veneration of the tomb by the clergy which now follows has already been discussed in Section One.

Papadopoulos-Kerameus presents a 13th century addition to HS 43⁹ which covers the propers of the Easter morning Liturgy. This reproduces the indications of the Model and omits all the material proper to HS 43 itself. It makes no mention of the Kontakion after the Eisodikon, however. It provides an alternative Koinonikon, “Ἀπαγγεῖλατε τῷ Πέτρῳ”.

Conclusion

Vespers

The only significant differences we find in the ensemble of manuscripts is that the Ex 15 and Dan 3 canticles are sung with their respective scriptural refrains and the “Σιγησάτω” is not found as a substitute for the Cherubikon.

HS 43 presents other peculiarities: 1) the Vesper service continues according to its usual structure beyond the OT readings, 2) the variable psalmody is performed, and 3) the Stichera for Ps 140 are chosen exclusively from Octoechos material, some of which is no longer found in the current books.

Sabba 612 and Bib Nat 402 have a gathering in the narthex before the service, which might be related to a similar service that existed at Sabba at an earlier period in its history.

Meal and Intermediate Office

There are only minor variations in this section save in Sin 1096. In this document the intermediate office is called Compline instead of Pannyehis and is followed by readings to bridge the interval between its conclusion and the beginning of Orthros.

Orthros

The only significant differences we find here in the ensemble of manuscripts are the following:

1) Sin 1096 situates the beginning of the service in the chapel where St. Sabbas was buried. This item corresponds to the witness of GEORG Sabba.

⁹ PAPADOPOULOS-KERAMEUS, *Typicon*, pp. 253-54.

2) *The Stichoi used with the X. A.* Some codices use only Ps 67; others, only Ps 117; others use both. HS 43 and HS 15 also make use of Ps 23.

3) There is a reading from Gregory of Nazianzus after the Hypacoe as well as after the Kontakion, save in HS 43.

4) The Ainoi and their Stichera are found as in the Model, save in HS 15 where the Stichera are sung without the Ainoi. HS 43 provides some extra Stichera.

5) HS 43 presents several differences:

- a) There is no Synapte after the entrance.
- b) There are no readings in connection with the Canon.
- c) The usual Sunday Exaposteilarion is found after that of the feast.
- d) Its additional Stichera for the Ainoi provide an interesting point of contact between it and certain manuscripts of Italo-Greek and Sinai origin.
- e) Its arrangement of the Stichoi with the Paschal Stichera parallels a usage we found in Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877.

Liturgy

HS 43, Sabba 628, and Sin 1095 do not have the Hypacoe after the Eisodikon. HS 43 provides a rather different collection of hymnic material.

CHAPTER TWO

DOCUMENTS OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. CATHERINE
ON MOUNT SINAI

1. Description of the Manuscripts

All of the documents here described were studied from microfilm of the Library of Congress collection, unless otherwise specified.

- 1) Sin 734-35 Triodion. 10th century (Gardthausen, Clark)
11th century (Karabinov)

GARDTHAUSEN, pp. 159-60; CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 9; KARABINOV, pp. IV-V.

Material used: ff. 191r-197v (Holy Saturday Vespers only).

Gardthausen points out that the two codices were originally one. 735 contains Stichera assigned to Holy Saturday without precise indication of function.

- 2) Sin 736 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 1028 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 160.

Material used: ff. 238v-245r.

There are considerable alterations in a later hand. It contains poetical material for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday Orthros.

As we shall see shortly, the material for Easter in this manuscript parallels rather closely that found in Crypt 300. It is even possible that the codex originated in some Italo-Greek milieu. The Uspenskij codex of Leningrad found at Sinai also seems to have come from Sicily.

- 3) Sin 742 Triodion. 1099 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, pp. 161-62.

Material used: ff. 163v-166r. (Holy Saturday Vespers).

- 4) Sin 760 Pentecostarion. 11th century.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 166.

Material used: ff. 53v-55r (only Holy Saturday Vespers).

- 5) Sin 1241 Sticherarion. 11th-12th century (Benešević)
12th century (Clark)

BENEŠEVIČ III, 6; CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 12.

Material used: ff. 147v-152v (general Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday).

- 6) Sin 754 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 1177 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 164; BENEŠEVIČ I, 130-31.

Material used: ff. 234r-251v (Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros and Liturgy).

Along with poetic elements, the full texts of the readings (including the Gospel) are given in this manuscript. There are also some general rubrical indications.

- 7) Sin 755 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 10th century writing
(Gardthausen)
11th century (Karabinov)
12th century (Clark)

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 165; CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 9; KARABINOV, pp. IV-V.

Material used: ff. 155v-157v.

The manuscript seems to break off in the middle of the Holy Saturday Canon. What follows (poetic material for Easter Orthros) seems to be written in another hand, but perhaps these pages are simply a copy of the last pages of the manuscript, made when these began to show wear, as the order of elements corresponds to that of older Triodia-Pentecostaria.

- 8) Sin 1242 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 13th century.

BENEŠEVIČ III, 6; CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 12.

Material used: ff. 139v-141v (general Stichera for Holy Saturday); ff. 149v-153v (general Stichera for Easter Sunday).

- 9) Sin 756 Triodion-Pentecostarion. 1205 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 165; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 414.

Material used: ff. 244v-260v. (Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros and Liturgy).

This manuscript has a fair amount of rubrical material, particularly for the priest and the deacon. An "Ἀρχιερεύς" is mentioned in connection with Easter Orthros. Readings (including the Gospel) are given *in extenso*. Some poetic items are even provided with music.

10) Sin 1097 Τυπικὸν κατὰ τὸν τύπον τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα ... οἰκονομηθὲν καὶ ἀφιερωθὲν τῇ ... μονῇ ... τῆς Θεοτόκου ... ἐν ὅρει ... Σινᾶ ... 1214 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 222; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 394-419, who presents limited excerpts.

Material used: ff. 50v-53r.

11) Sin 1216 Sticheron. 11th century (Benešević)
12th-13th century (Kondakov)
13th century (Clark)

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 254; BENEŠEVIČ I, 171; CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 12; N. P. KONDAKOV, *Putešestvie na Sinaj v 1881 godu*, Odessa, 1882 (cited by Benešević throughout his work, without specific page references concerning individual manuscripts).

Material used: ff. 219v-220v (general Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday).

12) Sin 1244 Sticheron. 13th century.

BENEŠEVIČ III, 7; STRUNK, *Specimena*, pp. 16-18.

Material used: ff. 199v-207v (general Stichera for Holy Saturday and Easter Sunday).

Strunk points out that two types of notation (Coislin and Middle Byzantine) alternate almost at random. He suggests that the scribe was forced to use an older manuscript where his main source was mutilated.

13) Sin 1101 Typicon of Sabba 1312 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 223; BENEŠEVIČ I, 626; SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, p. 412, note 3.

Benešević provides the dating of the manuscript. Gardthausen, although he cites the date which is found in the text (mistransliterating it, however, as 1311), simply indicates "14th century" when he dates the codex. Skaballanovič has pointed out that it is a perfect copy of Sinai 1097¹⁰.

14) Sin 1098 Typicon ... Sabba 1392 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 222; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 174-75.

Material used: 191r-197r.

¹⁰ He refers to Sinai 1047, but this is obviously a typographical error, as the only codex dated 1214 A. D. in Benešević's listing of dated manuscripts is No. 1097.

15) Mark Gr II, 117 (1427) Typicon ... Sabba 14th century (Mioni)
1387 A. D. (Dmitrievskij)

MIONI I, 341; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 169-74 who presents limited excerpts.

Material used: ff. 215v-221r.

Dmitrievskij bases his more precise date on the Paschal tables of the codex which begin with the year 1387. A note on folio 1 indicates that the original owner of the codex was the Sinai monastery of St. Catherine.

16) Mark Gr II, 118 (1439) Sticheron. 14th century.

MIONI I, 341-42.

Material used: ff. 270 ff.

17) Sin 1109 Typicon ... of Sabba 1464-65 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, pp. 225-26; BENEŠEVIČ I, 174-76; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 224-241 (who presents considerable excerpts.)

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, pp. 234-35.

18) Sin 1245 Triodion. 14th-15th century.

BENEŠEVIČ III, p. 7; CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 12.

The dating indicated by Clark (1485 A. D.) is not the date of the copying of the manuscript, but a reference to a visit made to the monastery by a certain Michael Phokeus (cf. Benešević, p. 7).

19) Sin 1108 Typicon ... of Sabba 15th century

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 225; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 248-251.

Material used: DMITRIEVSKIJ, p. 250.

20) Sin 1614 Triodion 15th century

CLARK, *Checklist Sinai*, p. 14.

Studied in microfilm of the Library of Congress collection.

21) Sin 746 Triodion 1519 A. D.

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 163; BENEŠEVIČ I, 131.

Studied in microfilm of the Library of Congress collection.

Material used: ff. 390v-407r (Holy Saturday Vespers and Liturgy)
Very detailed rubrics.

(Note: Codices of the library of Sinai referred to in the following discussion are cited without the prefix "Sin".)

As will be seen from the description of the manuscripts used for our study of the Sinai tradition, the greater number of the documents are either Triodia, Pentecostaria, or Sticheraria. There are only four Typica. We have already seen that the library of Sinai possesses in addition to these four (and others not available to us) the three important manuscripts which we have already considered in the section on the later Jerusalem tradition. In the present section we intend to consider these four Typica first and then pass on to an examination of the other documents.

2. The Typica

Unfortunately, we were able to study only Sin 1097 and 1098 on microfilm; for the other two we must rely on Dmitrievskij's sketchy information on their content. He simply limits himself to pointing out what in each seems to him to present peculiarities not generally found in the ordinary Sabba Typicon.

As regards *Vespers*, the only elements we find that depart from the Model in Sinai 1097 are 1) the Prokeimenon found before the OT readings: Ps 92,1, the usual Saturday Vesper Prokeimenon, 2) both Ex 15,1-21 and Dan 3,57-88 sung as in SOPH with the respective scriptural refrains, and 3) the absence of any mention of "Συγησάτω" as a substitute for the Cherubikon. Sin 1098, on the other hand gives the "Συγησάτω" *in extenso* and does not mention the Prokeimenon, although it also has both canticles sung with scriptural refrains, as in SOPH. Dmitrievskij does not call attention to any peculiarities that the other three Typica present for Vespers.

Meal and Pannychis follow in Sinai 1097 and 1098, as in the Model. The same seems to be the case in the other documents in the measure that we can judge from Dmitrievskij's excerpts. 1109 registers some embarrassment about the fast being broken by the meal. 1098 notes that the meal ends at the third hour of the night; the Mesonyktikon, at the fourth. The procession to the narthex takes place immediately after.

In 1098, 1097, and Mark Gr II, 117 the first part of *Orthros* corresponds to that of the Model save for the following items:

1) *The Stichoi sung with X. A.*

In 1097 the first two are taken from Ps 67 (v. 2; vv. 3c4a); the last three however, are taken from Ps 117 (vv. 1, 24, 27b). Afterwards we read

‘Ο ἱερεὺς· Δόξα καὶ νῦν, γεγονωτέρᾳ φωνῇ· Χριστὸς ἀνέστη. ‘Ο ἱερεὺς·
Ἄρατε πόλας οἱ ἄρχοντες ὑμῶν, Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.

The doors are opened and all enter. It is not clear whether or not this half verse of Ps 23 is intended to be simply an incipit for the entire verse of the psalm (v. 7) or constitutes a Stichos by itself. In any case there is no mention of the use of other verses of the psalm in the form of a dialogue as we find in other manuscripts. Here the verse used seems to call for a repetition of the X. A. afterwards, as in the case of the Stichoi of the other psalms used.

1098 follows the Model more closely. Its Stichoi are limited to the same three (from Ps 67 only), as are found there. Furthermore, there is no mention of the "Ἄρατε πόλας". With regards to 1108, Dmitrievskij cites a passage from the text forbidding the use of the dialogue with verses 7 and 8 of Ps 23, adding that this seems to attribute power to the devil. From this point on, Dmitrievskij makes no further reference to this document's description of the Easter services. He does not refer to Mark Gr II 117 in this connection. Sin 1109, however, although it gives Ps 117, 24 adds: "Οὗτος ὁ στίχος οὐχ ὀρίζεται ἐν τοῖς Τυπικοῖς". We will see this hesitation in other documents of the Sinai tradition a little later on.

2) In 1108, the *Synapte* is sung in the narthex instead of in the sanctuary. The entrance takes place as the Canon is begun, an arrangement which was to win out in later Greek practice.

The *Canon* and the poetic material sung in conjunction with it correspond to what we find in the Model, save that 1098 does not make mention of the Exapostellarion after the ninth Ode. After the Hypacoe, however, 1097 has the homily of Gregory of Nazianzus, "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα"; 1098 has his other homily, "Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς", instead. One or other non-essential point is not represented in a uniform way by all the codices¹¹.

¹¹ 1097 and 1098, for instance, make no mention of the repetitions of the Heirmoi and Troparia. 1098 calls for the Little Synapte after each Ode and provides Ekphoneses, as do 1109 and Mark Gr II 117 (although no Ekphoneses are specified in this latter). From this point on, Dmitrievskij does not describe the content of 1109 for the Easter services. Mark Gr II 117 calls for the priest to incense at the first and ninth Odes.

As regards the *Stichoi sung with the Paschal Stichera*, we find that 1097, 1098, and Mark Gr II 117 do not use Ps 117,23.

The only point of divergence with regard to the morning Liturgy is that 1097 does not have the Hypacoe after the Kontakion following the Eisodikon.

3. The Witness of the Sticheria and Triodia-Pentecostaria

Vespers

1) The Stichera for Ps 140

In some of these manuscripts although there is no specific collection of Stichera precisely for Vespers of Holy Saturday, we find either under general Holy Saturday Stichera or Stichera for the morning, the three "*Σήμερον*" of the Model (735, which also adds the "*Πορευθέντες*" we found in the Italo-Greek documents, 736, 760, 1216, 1241, 1242, and 1244). Only 1245 and 1614 present these three Stichera along with "*Ἡτήσατο Ἰωσήφ*" (currently used with the Ainoi of Holy Saturday) as the Stichera for Ps 140 of Holy Saturday Vespers.

Other manuscripts have a specific heading for the Stichera used at Holy Saturday Vespers. Thus we find in 736, 742, 760, 754, (all of these are 11th and 12th century manuscripts) the incipits of the four Anastasima Stichera of the Model. In the first three codices some other Stichera are added to those, but they are not the three "*Σήμερον*" Stichera, but rather Stichera taken from among the Aposticha of Good Friday Vespers, as 760 explicitly indicates. In 736 and 742 we find the first, second, and fourth of these: "*Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου*", "*Ὅτε ἐν τῷ τάφῳ τῷ καινῷ*" and "*Ὅτε αἱ δυνάμεις*". 736 even indicates the Stichoi that follow the first and second of these on Good Friday: Ps 92, 1ab; *ibid.*, 1cd. 760 simply alludes to the group of Stichera saying, "*Ὅτε ἐκ τοῦ ξύλου κτλ*". In 736 a later hand has added these with the Doxa sung with "*Σὲ τῶν ἀναβαλλόμενον*", the Doxa of these same Aposticha on Good Friday.

742 on the other hand, continues its collection of "other Stichera" listing the three Stichera found in HS 43's Aposticha for Holy Saturday Vespers, "*Φῶς ἐσπερινόν*", "*Ἐλαμψεν ὑμῖν*", and "*Ἱερουσαλήμ φαιδρύνθητι*".

2) Other items

Four of the Triodia-Pentecostaria (754, 756, 1614, and 746) provide additional information for the rest of Vespers and the

Vigil Liturgy. In all of these documents both Ex 15,1-18 and Dan 3,57-88 are sung with scriptural refrains as in SOPH. Further, none of these prescribe the "*Σιγησάτω*" in place of the Cherubikon. 746 and 756 have no Prokeimenon before the OT readings; the others have Ps 92,1.

754 (of 1177 A. D.) passes immediately from Vespers to Orthros without mention of meal or Pannychis. 756 immediately after Vespers has the Canon "*Κύματι θαλάσσης*" with the following strange heading:

Κανὼν ψαλλόμενος ἀντὶ (ἀ)ποδειπνίου εἰς τὴν Θεόσυμον (?) ταφὴν τοῦ Κ(υρί)ου καὶ σ(ωτή)ρ(ο)ς ἡμ(ῶν) Ἰ(ησ)οῦ Χ(ριστ)οῦ τοῦ Θ(ε)οῦ. Καὶ εἰς τὸν Θρῆ(νον) τῆς ὑπεραγ(ίας) δ(εσ)ποίν(ης) ἡμ(ῶν) Θεοτόκου.

1616 (15th century) has the same Canon after Vespers with a similarly curious title: "... εἰς τὸν θρῆνον τῆς πα(να)γ(ίας) θ(εο)τόκου ψαλλόμενος τῷ ἁγίῳ καὶ μεγάλῳ σαββάτῳ ἐσπέρας". The title of the older manuscript seems to imply that there was neither Mesonyktikon nor Compline but rather that the Canon of Holy Saturday was sung instead. The references to the tomb of Christ and to the lament of the Theotokos correspond to the thematic content of this Canon. The first is found throughout the piece, whereas the second is central to the ninth Ode.

746 follows the Model in its description of the meal, the reading from Acts, and the Pannychis.

Orthros

1. From the Beginning to the Canon

As regards Orthros we find that 754, which makes no mention of where the opening of the service takes place, indicates "*Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία*" as the initial blessing sung by the priest. It then has the curious directive: "*καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Θεοῦ Κύριος ... Χριστὸς ἀνέστη*", thus betraying a desire to relate the unusual structure of Easter Orthros to that of the ordinary Orthros service. There is no reference to repetitions of the Troparion. The incipits of only two Stichoi are mentioned: Ps 117,21 and *ibid.*, 27b. These are followed by Doxa with a repetition of the second half of the Troparion, and a final complete repetition of the same. There is no Synapte, but the Canon follows immediately without mention being made of an entrance from the narthex into the church. It would seem that this document situates Orthros entirely in the church, the only one we have found so far that does so.

756, which also has the same initial blessing as 754, situates the beginning of Orthros outside the closed doors of the church. Immediately after the blessing we find the Synapte, after which the bishop signs the doors saying: Ps 23,7a, no mention being made of any other Stichoi, or of the X. A.¹² The doors are opened and the Canon is begun (the codex does not specify who begins it).

742 simply gives the Canon without anything further. 755 has Canon, Hypacoe, and Kontakion-Oikos, but these latter two items appear in the first part of the entry, and the Canon is printed without any interruptions. 754 and 756 both give the text of the Canon with the poetic inserts of Hypacoe and Kontakion. The Exaposteilarion follows the ninth Ode in both documents. In 756 it is sung three times; in 754 there is no indication to this effect, but a second Exaposteilarion is provided: "Ζωῆς πρὸς τάφον δράμομεν". In 756 we find after the Kontakion-Oikos, both "'Ανάστασιν Χριστοῦ θεασάμενοι" and "'Αναστὰς ὁ Ἰησοῦς". The reading from Gregory of Nazianzus, "'Αναστάσεως ἡμέρα", follows.

2. The Ainoi and the Kiss of Peace

Only 756 and 754 indicate the four Anastasima of the Model for the Ainoi. The Paschal Stichera with their Stichoi then follow in 756 as in the Model, save that the manuscript adds Ps 117,24 as the fourth Stichos. "Πάσχα τὸ τερπνόν", further, is sung only once, and *Doxa* and *kai nyn* are sung together following by the Sticheron, "'Αναστάσεως ἡμέρα" (of the Model). 754 has the same Stichera, but there are no indications of Stichoi. These two documents limit their Easter Stichera to those indicated in the Model. The Sticheraria, on the other hand, have in some cases more ample collections, although the Stichoi are never present. (Thus, 1241, 1242, 1244, and 755). They are in every case entitled "for Easter Sunday" without further determination.

The kiss of peace is referred to by 754 and 756, this latter specifying that the priest comes out with the Gospel. In 756 the kiss is followed by the reading of the Pseudo-Chrysostom Homily. In 754 this does not occur, but rather a "λιτανεία" which probably refers to the Litany which follows in 756 (Synapte) rather than to a procession. Sin 756 mentions the Apolysis.

With regard to the Liturgy, the items signaled out by 754 and 756 are all in accordance with material found in the Model,

¹² We note here that DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Bogosluženie*, p. 414 affirms that the codices Sin 1101 and 1103 (which we have not personally studied) also prescribe the "Ἀρατε πύλας". He does not specify how much of the psalm is sung.

save that there is no Hypacoe following the Kontakion after the entrance. 1241 after its Paschal Stichera has a group of four various Stichera under the curious heading: "... εἰς τὸ κατὰ Ἰωάννην εὐαγγέλιον · Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος". The Stichera follow: "Τὸ τὴν Θεοπτίας", "Ἡ παναίτιος καὶ ἀόρατος", "Πάσχα τὸ μέγας", "Σκιρτάτω πᾶσα". We do not know what purpose these Stichera were intended to serve. The Gospel pericope indicated seems to be that of the morning Liturgy.

Sin 736

The ancient Triodion 736 of the year 1028, which shows traces of considerable reworking in order to bring it in line with later practice, presents some interesting points of contact with Grottaferrata's 10th century Triodion, Crypt 300.

With regards to Holy Saturday Vespers, the original text of the manuscript calls for the four Anastasima. These are followed by "other (Stichera)" which are, as we have seen above, the first, second, and fourth Aposticha of Good Friday Vespers, along with two of the Stichoi that occur there. Previously, however, under the Holy Saturday Vespers we find written in the margin in a later hand alongside the first of the three "Σήμερον" Stichera the indications that these are to be sung at Vespers. A little further on, however, part of the beginning or at least of the title of Easter Orthros has been erased and in its place a more recent hand lists for Holy Saturday evening the first two Anastasima Stichera followed by "ἕτερα: Σήμερον ... συνέφερε μοι ... καὶ ἕτερα." Where the ancient text of Easter Orthros resumes, we find the following items which we present in a comparative table with those of Crypt 300.

Sinai 736

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη

ἄλλα στιχηρά: Τοῦ λίθου
σφραγισθέντος...

Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸ μνήμα...

Τὸν τάφον σου (Σωτηρ)
στρατιῶτες τηροῦν...

Προλαβοῦσαι...

Κοντάκιον-Οἶκος

Anastasima of first tone for Ainoi
(incipits only)

Paschal Stichera

Easter Canon

Crypt 300

—

κάθισμα: Τοῦ λίθου...

Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸν τάφον...

στρατιῶτες
τηροῦν—νεκρός...

Προλαβοῦσαι...

—

—

Stichera for Ps 140

Easter Canon.

While the collections of Stichera are not identical, there are some interesting points of contact. The first four Stichera found in Sin 736 correspond to the 6th, 7th, 8th and 9th of Crypt 300:

Ἀγαλλιασώμεθα ψυχῇ
Πάσχα τὸ σεβάσιμον
Πάσχα τὸ καθαρτήριο
Πάσχα τὸ μακάριον

The first three of the series turns up in another place in the very same order. We find them in HS 43 after the Anastasima of the first tone as "ἕτερα στιχ(η)ρά) εἰς τοὺς Αἰνοὺς πρὸς Πανεύφημοι Μάρτυρες". Sin 736 likewise links these with this same Sticheron as Prosomoia. The series is entirely lacking in the Athos collections and the earlier Studite documents.

Thus, we find a striking resemblance between the two documents. Sin 736 makes clear that there are three separate items between the "Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος" and the "Προλαβοῦσαι". Crypt 300, judging from the writing of the codex, seems to group all of these three together as though there were only one item. Crypt 300, furthermore, enables us to provide the incipit of the second item which in Sin 736 is illegible. Missing in Crypt 300 are the Anastasima of the first tone for the Ainoi along with the Kontakion-Oikos of Easter. The group of Paschal Stichera are given the designation "for Κύριε ἐκέκραξα".

The Easter Stichera in the Sinai Triodia-Pentecostaria

As we have seen, Sin 736 contains a collection of Stichera which presents particularities not found in the Athos documents, although the Anastasima Stichera are explicitly assigned to the Ainoi. Other documents limit themselves to indicating the Stichera actually called for by the later Typica of the Sabba tradition. Thus the Triodia-Pentecostaria Sin 754, 756, and 775, which simply call for the Anastasima for the Ainoi and the Paschal Stichera found in the Model. Sin 754, however, adds another to the group of these latter: "Πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῶν". The psalm verses of the Model are found in 756, but not in 754.

The only other Triodion-Pentecostarion which like Sin 736 contains a fairly large collection of Stichera is Sin 1242. The first mode plagal Stichera which we find here all correspond to the Paschal Stichera of the Model, although we find no precise indication of use nor any psalm verses to be used in connection with them. The collection of first mode authentic Stichera contains

two of those used by the older Studite tradition for the Ainoi: "Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ" and "Τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐνδόξου". Two others are found also in the collections of Lavra Γ 67 and Γ 72: "Πάσχα τῶν ψυχῶν" and "Τὸ Πάσχα τοῦτο τὸ μέγα". Two other second mode plagal Stichera also found in Lavra Γ 72 are given: "Πάσχα κυρίου ... ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν" and "Σήμερον τὸ πανσεβάσιμον Πάσχα".

The oldest of the Sticheraria, Sin 1233, likewise has a rather large collection of Stichera. It begins with three first mode authentic Stichera, corresponding to those used by Evergetes for the Ainoi. There follow two second mode plagal Stichera found likewise in Lavra Γ 72: "Πάσχα κυρίου ... ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν" and "Πάσχα κυρίου ... σκυλεύσας". Finally, there comes a series of first mode plagal Stichera. The first three correspond to those used by Lavra Γ 67, Γ 72, and Vatop 1488 with the verses from Ps 67 and the Doxa. Others follow, including the other two Stichera used by the Model with its Paschal Stichoi.

The other three Sticheraria (1241, 1216, and Mark Gr II 118) have very limited collections, although they all contain one or other item from Evergetes Stichera for the Ainoi, though they are not explicitly prescribed for actual use.

Apart from the cases of documents which single out verses from Ps 67 for use with certain Stichera, these manuscripts (both Triodia-Pentecostaria as well as Sticheraria) do not specify the exact use of the Stichera, and thus, as in the case of the Italo-Greek documents, the collections are of the character of anthologies of items no longer prescribed for use at Orthros.

Conclusion

Vespers

1) The Anastasima Stichera of the Model appear in all the documents which explicitly treat of this section of the office. Although the Typica add to these the three "Σήμερον" Stichera of the Model, three other documents (736, 743, and 760) use three of the Aposticha of Good Friday Vespers instead.

2) 1097 along with several of the other documents have Ps 92,1 as Prokeimenon before the OT readings.

3) All of the documents that have anything to say about the readings (including 1098) say that the Ex 15 and Dan 3 canticles are to be sung with their respective scriptural refrains.

4) The "Σιγησάτω" of the Model appears only in 1098. The other documents make no mention of a substitute for the Cherubikon.

Meal and Intermediate Office

The Typica along with Triodion 746 present no important variations from the prescriptions of the Model concerning this section of the office. 754 and 1616 both provide a Canon after Vespers: "Κύματι θαλάσσης" of Good Friday Orthros. 756 indicates that this serves as a substitute for Compline.

Orthros

1) 754 and 756 have as the opening blessing of the service "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία" instead of the "Δόξα τῇ ἀγίᾳ" of the Model.

2) There is little agreement concerning the Stichoi used with X. A. in the documents which treat of these. One manuscript uses only Ps 117 (754); another, only Ps 67 (1098); still another uses both (1097). 756, moreover, mentions none of these but only Ps 23,7a without reference to X. A. This same psalm appears also in 1097, 1101, and 1103, although 1108 forbids its use as attributing power to the devil.

3) In 754 no mention is made of any entrance into the Church or of the Synapte which follows this entrance in the Model. Immediately after the Stichoi and X. A., the Canon is begun. The document seems to situate the service entirely in the church. 756 and 1108 have the Synapte, but it is sung in the narthex rather than in the sanctuary as in the Model. In both of these documents the entrance takes place during the singing of the Canon.

4) As regards the Canon, we find that the documents present no important variations from the Model, save that there is a reading from Gregory of Nazianzus after the Hypacoe in the Typica and more or less detail in the other books.

5) With regards to the Stichoi sung with the Paschal Stichera the documents which speak of them seem to indicate the same ones as in the Model, save that 756 adds Ps 117,24. The Stichera in the Typica correspond to those of the Model. The same is true of the other books in the measure that they treat of this section. The Stichera contain more ample collections as in the other traditions.

Morning Liturgy

In these documents the only point of divergence concerning the Liturgy is that the Hypacoe is not sung after the Kontakion. 1241 alone has a curious set of Stichera to be used with Jn 1.

CHAPTER THREE

DOCUMENTS OF THE MONASTERY OF ST. JOHN THE THEOLOGIAN ON THE ISLAND OF PATMOS

1. Description of the Manuscripts

The codices of the Patmos library have not yet been adequately described. SAKKELION, *Patmiake Bibliothek*, p. 119, for instance, does not describe in detail the group of Stichera which we have consulted but simply gives a brief description of the collection as a whole. Fortunately, several of these are dated.

1) Patmos 221 Sticherion 1143-79 A. D.
This manuscript contains not only Stichera but also Hypacoes and, in a separate section, Prokeimena.
Material used: fol. 32v (Prokeimenon of Easter morning Liturgy) 139v (Hypacoe of Easter) 142r (Kontakion and Oikos of Easter).

2) Patmos 218 Sticherion 1167 A. D.
Material used: fol. 203r (Stichera for Holy Saturday Vespers); ff. 203r-204r (Stichera for Easter Sunday).

3) Patmos 219 Sticherion 1219 A. D.
Material used: ff. 253r-255v (Stichera for Holy Saturday Vespers). The manuscript skips from Holy Saturday to Thomas Sunday; thus nothing is provided for Easter Sunday.

4) Patmos 220 Sticherion 1223 A. D.
Material used: ff. 213v-215v (Stichera for Holy Saturday); 215v-216v (Stichera for Easter Sunday).

5) Patmos 222 Sticherion ?
Material used: ff. 260 ff (same Stichera for Holy Saturday as in Patmos 220). Easter Sunday is also missing here.

6) Patmos 226 Sticherion ?
Material used: ff 209 ff. (same content as Patmos 220 and 222).

7) Patmos 227 Sticherarion ?

Material used: ff. 180v-182r (same material as in Patmos 220, 222, and 226 in the same order of occurrence). Fol. 181v adds another Sticherion for Saturday; ff. 182r-184r (Stichera for Easter Sunday).

8) Patmos 612 Triodion 15th century
SAKKELION, p. 249.

A typical late Triodion with no particular variants of any interest for our purposes. The canticle of Exodus (15,1-18) is still sung with the scriptural refrain.

2. Holy Saturday Vespers

Patmos 218, 219, 220, 222, and 227 all contain the three "Σήμερον" Stichera. Only in Pat 218, however, are they designated as pertaining to "Saturday evening". In the others they simply belong to the general Holy Saturday collection, in which they occur as the last three Stichera.

3. The Stichera for Easter Sunday

The Sticheraria of Patmos are all rather similar in content. None of the Stichera are assigned to any particular use on Easter Sunday. The following presents the contents of three of them:

<i>Patmos</i> 227 ?	<i>Patmos</i> 218 1167 A. D.	<i>Patmos</i> 220 1223 A. D.
Σήμερον σωτηρία	idem	idem
Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα ... καρποφορήσωμεν	—	idem
Τῆς λαμπρᾶς	idem	idem
Πάσχα κυρίου ... ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν	idem	—
Πάσχα κυρίου ... πατήσας	idem	—
Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα ... λαμπρυνθῶμεν	idem	—
Ἄγγελοι σικιρήσατε	—	—
Πάσχα τὸ τερπνόν	idem	—
Ἐπλήσθη τὰ σύμπαντα	—	—

Patmos 222 and 226 reproduce the items of 220. Patmos 219 skips from Holy Saturday to Easter Sunday, a phenomenon which

is rather frequent in Sticheraria, as Strunk has pointed out¹³. The reason which he suggests for this is the fact that the Paschal Stichera were repeated so frequently that they were known from memory and did not need to be written down. As a matter of fact, the ones commonly used with the verses from Ps 67 are not found in any of the Patmos Sticheraria. The first mode plagal collections of 227 and 218 are very limited. The most striking thing about these documents is that they, too, preserved the Stichera used by Evergetes for the Ainoi, thus suggesting that they were once in use also on Patmos.

¹³ STRUNK, *Further Note*, pp. 176-77.

CHAPTER FOUR

SABBA DOCUMENTS OF VARIOUS OTHER COLLECTIONS

We come now to a final group of documents found for the most part in Western libraries. In most cases, the origin of these documents is not known, and thus we cannot situate them in the concrete context of some monastic center such as Sinai or Sabba. In others, although the origin of the document is known, it constitutes the only representative of its place of origin. For convenience sake, we group these into one section rather than describe each separately. They are all related indirectly, however, inasmuch as they all seem to belong to the Sabba tradition, with the possible exception of Bibl Nat Gr 242.

1. Description of the Manuscripts

- | | | |
|------------------|----------------|--------------|
| 1) Vat Reg Gr 59 | Triodion | 11th century |
| Vat Reg Gr 58 | Pentecostarion | |

STEVENSON, *Codices Reg Gr*, p. 52; KARABINOV, pp. IV-V.

These two manuscripts written in the same hand almost certainly originally formed but a single codex. Here the rubrical material is considerable. Not only are the liturgical poems present, but also other items including the readings *in extenso*, even the Gospel pericopes.

Material used : Vat Reg Gr 59 : ff. 130r-137v (Holy Saturday Vespers). Vat Reg Gr 58 : ff. 1r-2v (Easter Sunday services).

Three items never found in the Studite documents we have studied are found here: 1) the Anastasima Stichera for Ps 140 at Holy Saturday Vespers, 2) the Prokeimenon Ps 92,1 before the OT readings, and 3) Stichoi at the beginning of Orthros chosen from both Ps 67 and 117. These items lead us to believe that the manuscript belongs to the Sabba rather than to the Studite tradition, despite the fact that the majority of Vatican manuscripts

we have consulted belong to this latter. Although the document is not a Typicon, its copious rubrical details provide the earliest descriptive account of the Easter services according to the later Sabba tradition that we have. The earliest Typicon of Sabba we have studied dates from the 12th century, whereas the present document according to both Stevenson and Karabinov dates from the 11th.

- | | | |
|---------------------|--------------|--------------|
| 2) Bibl Nat Gr 242 | Sticherarion | 11th century |
| GASTOUE, pp. 81-82. | | |

Material used: ff. 206-207 (Easter Stichera only).

Gastoué has suggested that this manuscript might have originated in the Constantinopolitan monastery of St. Mammes. The musical notation suggests the style in use in the capital during this period. The limited content of the manuscript for the Easter services, however, does not help us in situating the document in one tradition as opposed to another.

- 3) Vat Gr 782 Typicon ... of Sabba 12th century
CODICES VAT GR III, 299-300.
Material used: ff. 127v-131v.

- | | | |
|------------|----------------|----------------------------|
| 4) Sin 775 | Pentecostarion | 12th century (Antonin) |
| | | 12th-13th century (Clark) |
| | | 13th century (Gardthausen) |

GARDTHAUSEN, p. 166; BENEŠEVIČ I, 133; ANTONIN, *Katalog rukopisej Sinajskikh*, (cited by Beneševič, p. XXVI without indications of page references for individual codices).

Material used : ff. 1v-3r (The actual folia bear no number).

The present manuscript originally belonged to a monastery in Thessalonike; only in 1404 A. D. did it come into the possession of the Sinai monastery.

- 5) Shio-Mgimve Monastery Codex (not numbered)
Typicon ... of Sabba between 1247-1269 A. D.
KEKELIDZE, *Liturgičeskie*, pp. 313-347 (text); 506-511 (discussion)
Material used: KEKELIDZE: pp. 344-45.

The last year mentioned in the Paschal table of this manuscript is 1224 A. D., but the fact that we find in it a commemoration of Queen Rusudan († 1247) but not of her successor, King David (ruled from 1247-69) leads us to believe that it was copied

during the reign of this latter. The work of the scribe (a certain monk George), however, is not original. In the course of the text, he left blank spaces to be filled in later. The reason for this, according to Kekelidze (p. 314) was that the original from which he was working was defective.

There are good reasons which lead us to believe that the original with which the scribe was working came from the Monastery of St. Simeon at Antioch. We know from the Testament of King David III to the monastery of Shio-Mgimve that at the request of the monks, Arsenios and John, the Typicon of the St. Simeon's was introduced into the Georgian monastery. These two monks are supposed to have copied the manuscript themselves. The reason for this choice is not surprising. The Georgian Church was already linked with St. Simeon, due to the fact that it was this saint who sent missionaries to Georgia to evangelize the country. To which tradition did the Typicon of this Antiochean monastery belong? From Nikon of the Black Mountain we learn that he himself left in the archives of the monastery of St. Simeon an exemplar of the Sabba Typicon for the use of copyists. (KEKELIDZE, p. 510) The Typicon of Shio-Mgimve corroborates this assertion, inasmuch as it is clearly a redaction of the Sabba Typicon.

As regards the date of the original from which George copied this manuscript we find after the Synodikon of Orthodox Sunday an indication of the year 1172 A. D. This date is also the one at which the Paschal table (already alluded to) begins. This seems to point to the fact that the original dates from this year. (KEKELIDZE, p. 315). Characteristic of the redaction of the Sabba Typicon in this document is the absence of little Vespers, and the simple form in which the "chapters of Mark" occur: entries without titles inserted in the course of the text, rather than joined together to form a separate section of the codex.

From the thirteenth century this new Typicon began to spread throughout the Georgian church. By the 15th century the older Synaxarion of George was obsolete.

6) Vat Gr 785 Typicon ... of Sabba 14th-15th century
CODICES VAT GR III, 302-303; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 205-206.
Material used: ff. 149r-152v.

7) Bibl Nat Gr 261 Sticherarion 1289 A. D.
GASTOUE, p. 82; OMONT II, 28, who simply dates the manuscript 13th century.

Material used: ff. 196r-197v (Stichera for Holy Saturday Vespers and Easter Sunday).

8) Vind Theol Gr 181 Sticherarion middle of the 13th century
cf. Sticherarium.

Studied in the above-mentioned edition.

Material used: f. 251v (Stichera for Holy Saturday Vespers). According to the editors of this work, the manuscript is a close copy of an earlier work. After the Holy Saturday Stichera the next entry is Thomas Sunday.

9) Vat Pal Gr 101 Typicon ... of Sabba 1373 A. D.
STEVENSON, *Codices Pal Gr* pp. 49-50; DMITRIEVSKIJ, *Typica* II, 163-67 (selections).

Material used: ff. 176r-179v. Also consulted in DMITRIEVSKIJ, p. 166, the description of the Pannychis and Orthros up until the Canon in the case when the Annunciation falls on Easter.

10) Bibl Nat Gr 263 Varia Liturgica 14th century
OMONT V, 28-29.

Folia 1-105v contain parts of the Triodion and Pentecostarion. Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros and Liturgy are covered, but no mention is made either of meal or Pannychis.

11) Bibl Nat Gr 260 Sticherarion 14th century
GASTOUE, p. 82; OMONT II, 28.

Material used: ff. 198v-200 (general Holy Saturday Stichera; Easter Sunday Stichera).

12) Bibl Nat Gr 246 Triodion-Pentecostarion 14th century
OMONT II, 27.

Material used: ff. 55r-57 (Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Sunday Orthros).

The manuscript contains considerable rubrical details.

2. Vespers

The Sticheria, Bibl Nat Gr 241, 261, and Vind Gr 181 all give the three "Σήμερον" Stichera under the heading of Holy Saturday Vespers. Bibl Nat Gr 260 simply lists them under general Holy Saturday Stichera, although they occur last in the series of these latter.

The other documents present the same order of elements as the Model, save that they still have the Exodus and Daniel canticles with their scriptural refrains¹⁴, and that the "Συγησάτω" is not found in any of the documents. Vat Reg Gr 59 has the Prokeimenon Ps 92, 1 before the OT readings. It further has only three Stichoi for the "Ἀνάστα": Ps 81,1; *ibid.*, 2; *ibid.*, 4.

Shio notes that the service begins at the 10th hour and that the priest is vested in white sticharion and black phelonion, a detail which recalls the prescription of Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat Gr 402, although there is no question of a preliminary gathering in the narthex as in these latter. Kekelidze does not reproduce the manuscript's description of Vespers but limits himself to the remark that the service is performed "as usual".

3. Meal and Intermediate Offices

With the exception of Vat Reg Gr 59 and Bibl Nat Gr 263, which do not speak of the meal or of the intermediate office, this group of documents follow the Model, judging from the excerpts available in Dmitrievskij and in the measure which the documents themselves enter into detail with regard to the ceremonies¹⁵.

4. Orthros

The documents follow the Model with regards to the preliminaries of Orthros. Shio notes that the priest comes to the narthex with the thurible in his right hand and the cross in his left, a point which it has in common once again with Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat Gr 402.

From the initial blessing to the beginning of the Canon the documents continue to follow the Model save for the following points:

1) Vat Reg Gr 58 makes no mention of the fact that the X. A. is sung three times by priest and three times by the assistants

¹⁴ Vat Gr 782, 785, and Vat Pal Gr 101 do not list the readings or speak of the canticles sung in connection with them, but limit themselves to affirming that the readings are performed "κατὰ τὴν τάξιν αὐτῶν."

¹⁵ Vat 782 and 785 provide as an alternative to the reading from Pseudo-Epiphanius after the third Ode of the Canon at the Pannychis, a reading from Chrysostom's commentary on the end of Matthew or on John's account of the Resurrection.

before the Stichoi. It is simply said that the Troparion is sung. Its Stichoi are those of the Model. The Synapte follows the entrance, but the codex does not specify that it is sung in the sanctuary.

2) Shio makes no mention of the signing of the doors before the initial blessing. After this latter, the X. A. is sung three times by priest and assistants together. Its Stichoi are: Ps 117,1; *ibid.*, 24; *ibid.*, 27b.

In connection with the Canon we find the Hypacoe, Kontakion-Oikos, "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ", and Exaposteilarion as in the Model.

Vat Gr 782 and 785 have Gregory's Homily, "Ἐπὶ τῆς φυλακῆς", after the Hypacoe and his "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα" after the Kontakion. Vat Reg Gr 58 gives additional Exaposteilaria: "ὑμνοῦμεν σου Χ(ριστ)ὲ τὸ σ(ωτή)ριον πάθος", "Ὁ τὴν ἄδην σκυλεύσας", "Ὁ σταυρὸν ὑπομείνας", "Τὴν θεοπρεπεῖ σου συγκατάβασιν". One or other manuscript does not contain the same amount of detail as the Model¹⁶. The final Ektenes in Vat 782 and 785 is sung by the priest.

There are no further peculiarities in these documents for the rest of Orthros. Few of the manuscripts specify all the Stichoi used with the Paschal Stichera after Orthros. Sin 775, however, which lists them all, has only three Stichoi from Ps 67. Ps 117 is absent. The Stichera used with them are identical with those of the Model. The Sticherion, Bibl Nat Gr 242, also gives all of these Stichera in its collection of first tone plagal Stichera for Easter Sunday. The only other Sticheron that occurs here is the "Σήμερον σωτηρία... ὅσος..." Vind Theol Gr 181 skips from Holy Saturday to Thomas Sunday, as is frequently the case in the Sticheria. Bibl Nat Gr 260 has two Stichera from the collection of Evergetes for the Ainoi, while Bibl Nat Gr 261 has the entire collection used by Evergetes for this function.

5. Liturgy

The items of the Liturgy are those of the Model. Vat Gr 782 for the Antiphons indicates a repetition of the first verse of each of these before the beginning of the second verse, as in the case

¹⁶ Vat Gr 782, Vat Pal Gr 101 and Bibl Nat Gr 246 make mention of the Little Synapte after each Ode. This latter makes no mention of readings in the context of the Canon. Vat Gr 782 and 785 indicate that the Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ is sung three times. Shio indicates that the Heirmoi and Troparia of the Canon are to be sung four times.

of Mess Gr 115. Vat Pal Gr 101 has a somewhat similar indication. After the first verse of the Antiphon, we read the following: "Τό αὐτό ὁ ἕτερος χορός". Vat Gr 782 similarly says: "Πάλιν ὁ ἕτερος χορός τὸ αὐτό". These expressions seem to explain the usage indicated in Mess Gr 115 without further comment. The repetition of the first Stichos corresponds to the fact that it was sung once by each of the choirs. The Hypacoe does not appear after the Eisodikon in any of these documents. Both Vat Gr 782 and 785 have a second Stichos for the Prokeimenon which corresponds to that of SOPH.

Conclusion

As regards *Vespers*, we find that the Ex 15 and Dan 3 canticles have their scriptural refrains, and that the "Σεγγασάτω" does not exist as a substitute for the Cherubikon. The Prokeimenon of Vespers is, for the most part, absent save in Vat Reg Gr 59, which uses Ps 92,1.

Orthros presents few variations from the Model. There are some variations in the Patristic readings used in connection with the Canon (as well as in those that occur at the Pannychis preceding *Orthros*). The manuscripts have the same Stichoi as the Model in conjunction with the initial X. A., except Shio, which limits itself to Ps 117. Most of the codices do not list all the Stichoi used with the Paschal Stichera. Sin 775, which *does*, however, uses only Ps 67.

At the *Morning Liturgy*, the only important point of difference is that the Hypacoe is not sung after the Eisodikon.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON

PART TWO

The most striking conclusion concerning the documents of the Sabba tradition is the fact that they differ very little from the 16th century printed Typicon, which represents the term of our study, thus showing that between the 11th century (Vat Reg Gr 58-59) and the 16th (Model), the Sabba liturgy of Easter underwent little significant development.

1. The Differences Between Various Branches of the Sabba Tradition

In these concluding remarks concerning the concrete points of difference between the various subdivisions of this tradition, we do not make mention of the special items in HS 43 which have been discussed in detail in the course of the text.

Vespers

The important points where there is a lack of concordance with the Model are the following.

1. The Prokeimenon before the OT readings

Concerning this item, we find that even within each of the traditions there is no unanimity among the documents. The manuscripts of both Jerusalem and Sinai fall into two categories: a) those which (as in the Model) have *no Prokeimenon* at this point (Jerusalem: Sin 1094, 1095; Sinai: Sin 756, 754, 1098) and, b) those which have *Ps 92,1* (Jerusalem: all documents which treat of this section, save Sin 1094, Sin 1095 and HS 15; Sinai: Sin 754, Sin 1097, and 1614; *Varia*: Vat Reg Gr 59).

In none of these manuscripts, however, is there any trace of Ps 65,4 at this point, as in SOPH. These manuscripts transfer this latter Prokeimenon to the Liturgy (before the Apostle).

2) *The canticles with their scriptural refrains sung in connection with the OT readings* (Ex 15,1-21 and Dan 3,57-88) are found in all traditions in these manuscripts which treat expressly of the readings. In the Model, the Exodus canticle is no longer sung but simply read, while for the Daniel canticle the original scriptural refrain has been slightly changed.

3) *The "Σιγγήστω"* is lacking in the ensemble of documents, being found only in one manuscript of the Sinai tradition (Sin 1098 of the end of the 14th century).

Beyond these points, we find that in the *Jerusalem tradition*, Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat 402 present the curious case of a gathering in the narthex before Vespers. As we have pointed out, this item might be either an imitation of the gathering before Orthros, or possibly the remains of the gathering before the Vigil described in GEORG SABBA, but which had been lost by the time of the earliest examples of the fully elaborated Sabba Typicon.

In the *Sinai tradition*, certain 11th and 12th century Triodia-Pentecostaria prescribe Aposticha of Good Friday Vespers for use in connection with Ps 140.

Meal and Intermediate Office

None of the traditions provide any interesting variants concerning the meal.

As regards the *intermediate office*, all three groups of documents follow the Model closely with the exception of:

a) the Triodion-Pentecostarion Sin 754 (of the Sinai tradition) which says that the Canon of Holy Saturday is sung instead of Compline.

b) Sin 1096 (of the Jerusalem Sabba tradition) which calls its intermediate office Compline and prescribes readings from Chrysostom after its completion to fill up the interval between it and the beginning of Orthros. It also permits the superior to shorten the office, if he so wishes.

Orthros

In the ensemble of manuscripts of all the traditions, the first part of Orthros celebrated in the narthex follows the Model. Sin 754 (of the Sinai tradition), however, seems to situate the service entirely in the church. In the *Jerusalem tradition*, Sin 1096 (of the very monastery of Sabba itself) situates the opening of Orthros

in the burial chapel of Sabba instead of the narthex. HS 43 speaks of an initial procession to the narthex with the chanting of Stichera. In the *Sinai tradition*, Sin 754 and 756 have as the initial blessing, "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία", unlike the Model.

The only point on which there is some discrepancy is that of the Stichoi sung with X. A. An overall consideration of manuscripts of the various traditions shows that three different usages are in evidence: a) Stichoi from Ps 67 only, b) Stichoi from Ps 117 only, and c) Stichoi from both of these psalms. These different usages do not correspond, exclusively, however, to one or other of the traditions. Thus we find all three in the manuscripts of the Jerusalem and Sinai traditions as well as in those of the various other collections¹⁷.

Thus unlike the Studite tradition, which universally uses only Ps 117 in this connection, the Sabba tradition shows traces of various usages (even from the 11th century). The Typicon used in the elaboration of the Model had only Ps 67, but later Greek usage was eventually to re-introduce a Stichos from Ps 117 (v. 24)¹⁸.

In both *Jerusalem* (HS 15, HS 43, Sabba 311) and *Sinai* (Sin 1097, 1101, 1103) collections we find manuscripts which add to these Stichoi one or several verses from Ps 23. Sabba 311 and Sinai 1097 place these after the Doxa following the other Stichoi; HS 15, after the Synapte which follows the Doxa. The insertion of the verses from this psalm before the initial blessing in HS 43 seems strange. Perhaps this was the only available space to place them). The use of this psalm did not gain widespread acceptance. The scribe of Sin 1108 explicitly rejects it saying that the use of vv. 7 and 8 as a dialogue between Christ and the devil seems to attribute power to the devil. It did not make its way into the printed Typicon, though it survives until the present day in certain places.

The entrance takes place as in the Model and is followed by the Synapte from within the sanctuary. Only HS 43 and Sin 754 omit the Synapte, while HS 15, Sin 1108 and Sin 756 situate it in the narthex and prescribe that the Canon be sung during the entrance. This latter reflects Greek practice after the time of the Model.

¹⁷ Sin 756 stands completely apart in that it prescribes neither verses from Pss 67 or 117. Immediately after the initial blessing the Synapte follows in the narthex and Ps 23, 7a is sung by the bishop for the opening of the doors.

¹⁸ *Pentecostarion, Venice 1801*, pp. 5-6.

The Canon follows in all the manuscripts as in the Model, save for negligible differences such as the number of repetitions of the Heirmoi and the Troparia, or the arrangement of the readings within the Canon. The manuscripts, however, have two readings here instead of the single one found in the Model.

The Ainoi and Paschal Stichoi and Stichera follow, save in HS 15 where the Ainoi are absent, although the Anastasima Stichera are sung. Many Typica, as we have seen, simply allude in passing to the Stichoi and Stichera, so it is difficult to get an idea of which psalm verses and poetic compositions were used. Which manuscripts indicate all of the Stichoi?

In the *Jerusalem* tradition, HS 43 uses only Ps 67; HS 15 and Sin 1096 have both psalms. In the *Sinai* tradition we find that Sin 1097, Sin 1098, and Mark Gr II 117 have only Ps 67. Sin 756 has both. Among the group of manuscripts from *various libraries* we find that Vat Reg Gr 58 does not mention any Stichoi, although it has all of the Stichera without a heading. Sin 775 has only Ps 67. Thus, only three manuscripts have both psalms as in the Model.

The Problem of the "Paschal Stichoi"

At this point it might be well to consider in relation to one another the Stichoi used in connection with the X. A. at the beginning of Orthros and those used at this point (after the Ainoi). We found that in the Studite tradition, Ps 117 was used for the first set and Ps 67, for the second. In the case of the Sabba tradition we find that although there were three different usages with regard to the Stichoi sung with X. A., the greater majority of the manuscripts assign Ps 67 alone for those sung with the Paschal Stichera. This leads us to suspect that this psalm was the one used by the primitive Sabba tradition at this point, and that Ps 117, where it is found, represents a contamination with the Stichoi sung with X. A. at the beginning of the office.

As a matter of fact, we are able to witness a similar process of contamination in the case of the third Antiphon of the Liturgy on Easter morning. It will be remembered that the SOPH Typica (whose *Ordo* was adopted universally in the Byzantine world for the Easter propers of the Liturgy) prescribed for this Antiphon Ps 67 without indicating any specific verses as Stichoi. The Prophetologia of the same tradition indicated the same psalm but specified four Stichoi: from the first four verses of the psalm. These same Stichoi were taken up by the ensemble of documents of *both*

Studite and Sabba traditions including the Model itself. In the course of time, however, by a process of leveling all three sets of Stichoi (those with the initial X. A. of Orthros those used with the Paschal Stichera at the end of Orthros and those of the third Antiphon of the morning Liturgy) were reduced to a single set: Ps 67, 2a; *ibid.*, 3ab, *ibid.*, 3c4a; Ps 117, 24. This is the current usage in the Byzantine rite.

It seems clear that in this case we are dealing with a general process of contamination of one set of Stichoi by another. It is more difficult to say whether or not at the outset of this process the Sabba tradition consisted in an exclusive use of Ps 117 for the X. A. Stichoi at the beginning of Orthros. We tend to believe, however, that this was the case, because of the exclusive use of this psalm in the Studite tradition. While one cannot assert that all aspects of the Studite Easter Orthros represent an earlier form of the Sabba liturgy, nonetheless there are areas where this was certainly the case. The opening section of Orthros seems to be one of these. It is precisely in this opening part of the service (gathering in the narthex, entrance, psalm verses with X. A.) where even the earliest Studite documents enter into a considerable amount of detail, although they are silent about the rest of the office. There is nothing in the Studite tradition itself or in that of the Great Church (upon which it sometimes depends) to explain the unusual structure of this opening section. A comparison with the Sabba tradition, however, makes it clear that the essential lines are the same in both. The probability is that the inspiration came from Palestine. Thus, there is every reason to believe that the psalm also would have been suggested by the Sabba tradition. We have seen, however, that the psalm used by all the Studite books is Ps 117. In the later Sabba books, there is a general hesitation as to which psalm is to be used, an indication which, by itself, leads us to suspect that we are dealing with a complication of an earlier tradition. The source of this hesitation may well be the gradual process of contamination we spoke of above.

The kiss of peace, Pseudo-Chrysostom homily, Ektenes and Apolysis follow in all the traditions. Sin 754 refers to this Ektenes as a *λιτανεία* and Sin 756 as a Synapte.

Liturgy

Apart from HS 43 with its special hymnic material, double reading of the Gospel and veneration of the tomb after the Liturgy, the ensemble of manuscripts of all traditions present no variants

of great importance from the Model, save that the Hypacoe following the Kontakion after the Eisodikon is not found in any of the documents which we have studied. The 13th century addition to HS 43 does not even have the Kontakion after the Eisodikon. There are repetitions of the first verses of the Antiphons in Vat Pal Gr 101 and Vat Gr 782. Sin 1241 has a curious set of Stichera to be sung in connection with the reading of Jn 1.

Thus it will be seen that the differences that exist between the various manuscripts of the Sabba tradition do not really correspond to their division according to their place of origin. The variants tend to be found even within the manuscripts of each of these local traditions. Thus, the Prokeimenon before the OT readings at Vespers, Stichoi used with the X. A., presence of Ps 23 in connection with the same, Stichoi used with the Paschal Stichera. This permits us to affirm that *the Sabba tradition as it is found in manuscripts of various local centers is of a homogeneous nature and does not present subdivisions according to the place of origin of the manuscripts. Important variants are found within the local traditions themselves.*

Elements of the Older Tradition

Although the documents as a whole describe a service very close to that of the Model, we have found considerable traces of what seems to be the earlier shape of the Liturgy. Many of these items correspond to what we found in the Studite tradition.

a) *Vespers*

- 1) Sabba 612 and Bib Nat 402 prescribe a gathering in the narthex before the beginning of the service. This is possibly the remains of the gathering described by GEORG SABBA.
- 2) Sin 736, 743, and 760 indicate the Aposticha of Good Friday Vespers as additional Stichera for Ps 140.
- 3) Sin 742 has in its collection of Holy Saturday items certain Stichera used by HS 43 for the Aposticha of Holy Saturday Vespers.

b) *Intermediate Office*

- 1) Both Sin 1096 and Sin 756 make allowance for a short office in place of Compline. In the latter document this seems to consist solely of the Canon of Holy Saturday.

c) *Orthros*

- 1) Sin 1096 prescribes that the first part of Orthros be celebrated in the burial chapel of St. Sabba. This corresponds with the practice described in GEORG SABBA.
- 2) Sin 754 and 756 have "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεία" for the initial blessing of Orthros as in certain Studite documents.
- 3) Sin 754 and Shio use Ps 117 for the Stichoi sung with X. A. at the beginning of the service as in the Studite tradition.
- 4) HS 15, HS 43, Sin 1242, 1233, 1241, Mark Gr II 118, Patmos 227, 218 and 220 contain some of the Ainoi Stichera used by the earlier Studite tradition instead of the Ainoi. In these books, however, they are no longer assigned explicitly to the Ainoi but have been placed in the general Easter Sunday collection.
- 5) In HS 43 the arrangement of Stichoi and Paschal Stichera is the same as that of Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877. The group begins with the first Sticheron and not the first Stichos.
- 6) In HS 43 the Paschal Stichera all conform to the rhythm of the same poetic pattern, unlike those of the Model.

Beyond these points which correspond in large measure to the practice of the Studite Typica, Sin 736 in its arrangement of the poetic material it provides seems to hark back to an even earlier period, as does Crypt 300, which it resembles rather closely.

2. The Manuscript Tradition and the Model

It remains for us to ask in what points the Model differs from the ensemble of the manuscript tradition of Sabba. These may be summarized as follows:

- 1) Although there is *no Prokeimenon before the OT readings at Vespers* in several 13th century manuscripts of both Jerusalem and Sinai, the majority of the manuscripts prescribe Ps 92,1.
- 2) In the manuscript tradition we find that the two *OT canticles are sung at Vespers with their scriptural refrains* (Ex 15,1-18 and Dan 3,57-88), whereas in the Model the first of these is simply treated as a reading, no mention being made of any refrain; the

second, moreover, is provided with a refrain adapted from the scriptural one used in the manuscripts.

3) The "Σιγησάτω" which replaces the Cherubikon at the Holy Saturday Liturgy is found in only one 14th century manuscript of the Sinai tradition (Sin 1098).

4) The Stichoi used with X. A. at the beginning of Orthros in the Model represent one of three usages found in the manuscript tradition.

5) Several manuscripts of both Jerusalem and Sinai indicate verses from Ps 23 in conjunction with the entrance, which are not to be found in the Model.

6) The Stichoi used with the Paschal Stichera at Orthros represent one of two usages found in the manuscript tradition.

In the case of points 1, 4, 5, 6, we are dealing with items which existed as variants already within the manuscript tradition. *With regards to 2)* the loss of the Exodus canticle as a sung item must have comparatively late, for we found only one manuscript in which there is no mention of a refrain or of the canticle being sung: Bibl Nat Coislin Gr 38, a 15th century manuscript, which originated in the Great Lavra on Mount Athos. Here, however, the first letter of each verse of the canticle is written in red, thus suggesting that the scribe was working from a copy which originally singled out the verses as Stichoi. *With regards to 3)* we are at a loss to determine from what source this item was introduced. Of the manuscripts we studied, it is found only in the 14th century Sinai 1098. It was to make its way into the Slavic tradition. It is to be noted that at the time of the Model its use was optional ("εἰ θέλεις") whereas in later Greek usage it came to be prescribed absolutely¹⁹.

¹⁹ *Typicon, Constantinople 1888*, p. 382.

GENERAL CONCLUSIONS ON

SECTION THREE

1. The Relation Between the Studite and Sabbite Traditions

The following table summarizes the concrete differences found between the two.

<i>Studite</i>	<i>Sabbite</i>
VESPERS	
exclusive use of various special Holy Saturday Stichera with Ps 140	use of both Anastasima Stichera and special Holy Saturday ones with Ps 140
Ps 65,4 used as Prokeimenon before the OT readings	absence of Prokeimenon before OT readings or Ps 92,1 used in this function
processional entry of clergy with chant of Ps 31,1 after the Daniel canticle in Italo-Greek documents	—
presence of Ps 26,1 as Prokeimenon after third OT reading	this item found only in HS 43
absence of Prokeimenon at Liturgy in Italo-Greek documents	Ps 65,4 used as Prokeimenon of Liturgy
MEAL	
takes place in the narthex or in the refectory	takes place in the church itself
INTERMEDIATE OFFICE	
either Compline or a brief unnamed prayer service in most documents	Pannychis
interval between this and Orthros in early Studite and most Italo-Greek documents	Orthros immediately after this office
ORTHROS	
entrance from narthex completely in silence or gathering in narthex for initial blessing with or without X. A. and its Stichoi	gathering in narthex with initial blessing and X. A. with its Stichoi

Studite

initial blessing (if used) is either "Εὐλογημένη ἡ βασιλεῖα or Δόξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ"

Stichoi (either in narthex or in church) from Ps 117

Synapte absent in early documents and Crypt 404; found before Stichoi in Sin 150 and after them in most other documents

Gregory of Nazianzus' homily "Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα" is not used in connection with the Canon in quite a few Italo-Greek documents, as they reserve it for the end of the service

kiss of peace either at stall of higumen, within the sanctuary, or at the Holy Doors

Homily of Gregory of Nazianzus read during the kiss in Mess Gr 115, Vat Gr 1877, and Crypt 404; in Ivir 754 and Jena it follows the ceremony

Homily of Pseudo-Chrysostom found only in Vatop 322, Mess Gr 115, and Vat Gr 1877

Ektenes (Sin 150), Synapte (Ivir 754) or Ektenes and Aiteseis (Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Jena) at the end of Orthros

MORNING LITURGY

Prokeimenon sung from within the sanctuary by the deacon or the priest in Vatop 322, Mess Gr 115, and Vat Gr 1877

reading of Apostle within the sanctuary by the deacon in Vatop 322 and most Italo-Greek Typica

reading of Gospel within the sanctuary by the higumen or protopriest in Vatop 322 and most of the Italo-Greek Typica

Gospel also read by deacon from outside the sanctuary in Italo-Greek documents

Sabbite

initial blessing is "Δόξα τῇ ἁγίᾳ"

Stichoi (always in narthex) either from Ps 67, Ps 117, or a combination of both

Synapte always present after Stichoi

most manuscripts have this reading in connection with the Canon

kiss of peace at the Holy Doors

Homily of Pseudo-Chrysostom after the kiss

Ektenes alone prescribed at the end of Orthros

The differences we have pointed out, while they are considerable should not cause us to forget the great similarity of the essential structural lines of the offices in each of the two traditions.

Both set the Vigil in the context of the ordinary Palestinian Vesper service. The main points of difference are: 1) The Studite tradition stresses poetic material proper to Holy Saturday, while the Sabbite tends to adopt elements from the ordinary Saturday evening Vespers (Anastasima Stichera in addition to those of Holy Saturday, Prokeimenon before the OT readings). 2) The Studite tradition (particularly the Italo-Greek branch) remains in closer contact with the SOPH tradition than does the Sabbite.

The office of Orthros has the same unusual shape in both traditions (save in the early Studite sources). The differences we find concern the psalms and readings used and, more especially, the arrangement of the ceremonies which precede the Canon. In both cases we have the introductory chant of X. A. with psalm verses, followed by the Canon (along with certain other items sung in conjunction with it) and the Ainoi. Then comes the kiss of peace, a reading, and a Litany before the Apolysis. The morning Liturgy in both cases is identical save for the special manner prescribed for the chanting of the Prokeimenon and for the reading of the Apostle and Gospel in the Italo-Greek documents.

What then is the relation between the Studite and Sabba versions of the Easter services?

Historical Considerations

Baumstark has pointed out that the liturgical compositions of Theodore and other Studites along with those of the Italo-Greek monks imitates the genres used by the early Sabbite hymnographers Kosmas and John, thus suggesting that the liturgical structures they used called for such items and were thus similar to those of Sabba itself²⁰. We further pointed out that Skaballanovič suggests that Theodore's liturgical reforms consisted in a reworking of the Studite books towards an even greater conformity with Sabba practice²¹.

Some of the Italo-Greek and early Sinai collections of poetical material for Easter have also shown an interesting point of contact with the Jerusalem liturgy as represented by HS 43. As we have already seen, there is a collection of first tone Stichera in Crypt 300, 486, Vat Pius II Gr 30, and Sin 736, which are also found

²⁰ BAUMSTARK, *Denkmäler*, pp. 22-23.

²¹ SKABALLANOVIČ, *Tolkovij Tipikon*, pp. 395-96.

in HS 43, but which did not make their way into the later Sabba tradition. Thus the presence of these Stichera in books which are almost exclusively of Studite inspiration points to the fact of Jerusalem influence even prior to the victory of the later Sabba Typicon over that of the Studion.

In line with these views the Studite liturgy which we have studied represents to a certain extent the Sabba liturgy as it was at the time when it was borrowed by the Studite monks. Thus we have in the Studite documents *a witness to an earlier stage of the Sabba liturgy itself*. Unfortunately, we do not possess Sabbite documents of a sufficiently early period as to enable us to make a direct comparison. Between the description of the Easter liturgy at Sabba in the Georgian Typicon and the later Sabba Typicon such as we know it from the earliest documents we have studied we have only scattered fragments of information here and there, from which it is impossible to get a view of the ensemble of the liturgy.

We need not be surprised that the Studite documents which contain this early Sabba liturgy date for the most part from the 11th century and later, a period at which we already have witnesses to the later Sabbite traditions. The fact is that these are either copies of earlier documents (the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis) or stem from liturgical centres which maintained the earlier tradition even after the later Sabbite Typicon had begun to spread its influence throughout the Byzantine world. This is especially true in the case of the Italo-Greek monasteries situated, as it were, in the outposts of Byzantium. Here we are dealing with the familiar principle that a cultural item tends to be preserved longer and more faithfully in the provinces than in large urban centers.

The Sinai collection, which is rather rich in Triodia-Pentecostaria, also seems to provide some examples of the earlier Sabba tradition. The Sinai monastery, situated as it was near to Jerusalem and Sabba, was in close touch with these centres. Thus its liturgy as it appears in various documents dating from different periods of its history shows a close relationship with that of St. Sabba. Already at the time of the Georgian lectionary of Sinai we find the monastery linked with that of Sabba and Jerusalem itself: "in magno sabbato, XII lectiones legunt in Jerusalem et in Sabba Sancto et in Sinai Sancto cum psalterio ...²² Similarly, as we have seen, its later Typica not only show the influence of

Sabba but even bear the title "Typicon of Sabba", as in Sin 1097 for instance; "Τυπικὸν κατὰ τῆς λαύρας τοῦ ὁσίου πατρὸς ἡμῶν Σάββα ... οἰκονομηθὲν καὶ ἀφιερωθὲν τῇ ... μονῇ ... τῆς ... Θεοτόκου ... ἐν ... Σινᾷ".

We can hardly find in these documents a complete history of the development of the liturgy in this monastery. As a matter of fact, the great majority of manuscripts describe a liturgy which corresponds to that of the later Sabba Typicon. In one or other of the Triodia-Pentecostaria, however, we have found certain items which seem to hark back to an earlier period and are parallel to material we have found to be characteristic of the Studite tradition. Thus in Sinai 754 we find at the beginning of Orthros the initial blessing we found in Sin 150 and Crypt 404. In the same manuscript we find that only Ps 117 is used for the Stichoi sung with X. A. Similarly, there is an alternative for the usual Exaposteilarion, "Σαρκὶ ὑπνώσας". It has the incipit, "Ζωῆς πρὸς τάφον δράμωμεν". This same item appears in the same function in Crypt 486, a 12th century Italo-Greek Pentecostarion.

We have already pointed out in detail the striking resemblances found between the Triodia-Pentecostaria Crypt 300 and Sinai 736. While the poetic items do not help us to reconstruct the shape of the services they were intended to serve, nonetheless we are clearly dealing with a collection of texts that correspond only in part with those used by the later Sabba liturgy or even with the Studite one, as we know it. It is possible, as we have already pointed out, that Sin 736 originated somewhere in South Italy. If, however, the codex is truly of Sinai origin, we have here an interesting example of parallelism between two liturgical centers geographically far apart in the Byzantine world.

In the measure that we are dealing with a true parallelism between the South Italian and Sinai liturgies, the common source would seem to have been Palestine, in view of the close relationship between the liturgy of Sinai and that of Sabba. In the case of the Italo-Greek documents, this Palestinian influence may well have been mediated through the Studite sources from which the Italo-Greek monasteries drew inspiration for the organization of their liturgical services.

In any case, whatever might have been the concrete influence of Sabba on the monastic liturgy of the Byzantine world throughout the history of its development, it seems clear that this development was of a continuous nature embracing both those documents which we have called Studite as well as those of the later Sabba tradition. This continuity of development is well illustrated

²² TARCHNISCHVILI, *Le grand lectionnaire*, Appendix I, par 174.

in the case of documents of a transitional nature, which display both "Studite" as well as "Sabbite" characteristics.

Thus Ath 788 while it is related to the Studite tradition in the absence of Anastasima Stichera at Ps 140 and the Ainoi (items universally found in Sabba documents), it nonetheless shows a great influence of the Sabba tradition: 1) Ps 92,1 as Prokeimenon before the OT readings instead of Ps 65,4, 2) Pannychis instead of Compline after the Vigil Liturgy, 3) absence of an interval between this office and that of Orthros, 4) initial blessing of Orthros as in the Model, and 5) certain of its Stichoi sung in the narthex at the beginning of Orthros.

The same is true to some extent of Tif 222 which has the Anastasima Stichera for Ps 140 at Vespers and uses Ps 92,1 as Prokeimenon before the OT readings, but which, on the other hand, shows contact with SOPH in its preservations of the Prokeimenon Ps 26,1 after the third OT reading and of the entrance of the clergy with the chant of Ps 31,1 after the Daniel canticle. These two documents show the gradual penetration of later Sabbite practice into Typica which had their origin in Studite sources.

Despite the probable correspondence between the early Sabba liturgy and that which we find in the Studite Typica as regards certain elements, we must not be led to believe that the influence of Sabba was the only one at work in the elaboration of the Typica of these monasteries. The preponderance of elements from the Hagia Sophia Typikon in the Italo-Greek Typica, for instance, can hardly be explained by the influence of Sabba, which throughout its history remained in close contact with the Cathedral liturgy of Jerusalem rather than that of SOPH (at least directly).

The Stoudion, however, situated as it was in the capital, would have more easily been under the direct influence of the Typicon of the Greek Church. *De facto*, we have seen that in the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis there is almost nothing said about Vespers, probably because it was taken for granted that for much of the service the Typicon of the Greek Church was used. This hypothesis is confirmed by the Italo-Greek documents which describe Vespers in detail, and in fact follow SOPH very closely. The same is true to a lesser degree of Tif 222. Similarly, the earlier version of the Hypotyposis and the Diatyposis pass over the morning Liturgy in silence, while the later version of the Hypotyposis limits itself to pointing out that the Antiphons are those of the Great Church. Beyond this it adds only a few remarks about the manner of execution of the readings and certain of the chants.

All of this points to the fact that these monasteries must have

depended concretely on SOPH books for the propers of the Holy Saturday Vespers service (save for the first part, which followed the Palestinian structure) and for the morning Liturgy. This is indirectly indicated by the fact that all of these items are absent from the earliest Studite documents (Hypotyposis and Diatyposis). These limit themselves to describing Orthros, which differs radically from that of SOPH. Another indication of this use of Hagia Sophia books by the various monasteries is the fact of the relatively large number of Prophetologia which have come down to us. Originally a book proper to the Great Church, it was eventually produced with adaptations to various local needs, monastic or otherwise, as can be seen from the collection of manuscripts used for the edition of Høeg and Zuntz²³.

2. The Evolution of the Easter Services in the Byzantine Monastic Tradition

Vespers-Liturgy

In the first section of our study the relative abundance of documents enabled us to study the slow evolution between the primitive Easter Vigil and its eventual incorporation into the structure of a relatively normal Vesper-Liturgy service. For the monasteries whose Typica we have studied in the third section, this evolution was in large measure a *fait accompli*. The service presented little that differed from others which occurred from time to time throughout the liturgical year: the first part of Vespers, the entrance, OT readings, Liturgy (without the Antiphons). In basic outline, the cursus of the readings and the proper parts of the Liturgy were provided by the Typicon of SOPH. These were set into the normal structure of festal Vespers as they are celebrated in these Typica. Beyond this, the two forces at work in creating the particularities in the concrete shape of the various monastic Typica were 1) the extent to which the service used elements from ordinary Saturday Vespers, and 2) the extent to which other particularities of the Hagia Sophia Typicon (beyond the cursus of the readings and the propers of the Liturgy) were introduced.

1) *The use of Saturday Vesper elements*

The Studite tradition as a whole excludes these, there being no Anastasima Stichera at Ps 140 nor the Prokeimenon Ps 92,1

²³ Cf. pp. 116-117.

after the entrance. The Sabbite tradition, on the other hand, makes more use of these elements, generally including both the Anastasima Stichera for Ps 140 along with the proper Holy Saturday ones and using the Saturday evening Prokeimenon, Ps 92,1²⁴. HS 43 goes even further in incorporating Saturday evening elements, excluding the proper Holy Saturday Stichera from the group used with Ps 140 and limiting itself to Octoechos Stichera. It further continues the normal order of Saturday Vespers after the OT readings.

2) *The use of proper elements from SOPH*

The Italo-Greek documents stand out by their great fidelity to the SOPH tradition. Thus we find SOPH's Prokeimenon, Ps 65,4, before the OT readings, its Prokeimenon, Ps 26,1, after the third of these readings, and the processional entry of the clergy with Ps 31,1 after the Daniel canticle. They also omit the Prokeimenon of the Liturgy. The Cherubikon is sung three times as in SOPH.

Other manuscripts of the Studite group show the same influence but to a lesser extent. Thus, Ath 788, though in many points it departs from SOPH practice in favor of new elements from Palestine, nonetheless retains the use of the word, "μεγαλειον", found only in SOPH, to refer to the great Evangelary carried in the entrance procession at Ps 140²⁵.

Sin 150 has kept SOPH's Prokeimenon, Ps 65,4, before the OT readings and the Prokeimenon, Ps 26,1, after the third OT reading. It also has SOPH's note that only seven readings are used if there is no concrete need for more. Finally, it incorporates Ps 31,1 of SOPH's entrance procession in its own way, using it as Prokeimenon of the Liturgy.

Tif 222 has the Prokeimenon Ps 26,1 after the third OT reading. It also has the entrance of the clergy with Ps 31,1 after the Daniel canticle.

²⁴ As will be seen from Chart C, the SOPH Typica, *H* and *P*, both have this Prokeimenon after the tenth reading, but it is completely absent in the Prophetologia. Although this fact suggests the possibility that the use of the Prokeimenon in the manuscripts here discussed might stem from its use in SOPH, the fact remains that at this precise point (i.e. before the OT readings) there is no Prokeimenon in SOPH. In the light of this and of the fact that the Prokeimenon is found in none of the SOPH Prophetologia, we feel that its use in these Sabba documents stems rather from a desire to incorporate an element from ordinary Saturday Vespers into the Vigil service.

²⁵ Cf. p. 186, note 15.

The Sabba documents limit themselves, in general, to the use of SOPH's cursus of readings and its propers for the Liturgy. HS 43, however, has adopted Ps 26,1 as Prokeimenon after the third OT reading. On the other hand, while it uses a good many of SOPH's readings and chants for the Liturgy, HS 43 has nonetheless maintained a certain number of chants of its own for other functions in the Liturgy.

3) *Other Items in Certain Documents*

Other particularities of individual documents stem mostly from their use of a fund of hymnody which was not incorporated into the Model. This is especially true of HS 43 and various documents of the Studite group.

A curious item which is found in certain Studite manuscripts and which seems to have no precedent either in SOPH or the Jerusalem tradition is the presence in Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 of the great Synapte and in Ath 788, Tif 222, and Vat Gr 1517 of the small Synapte after the entrance into the sanctuary. This seems to stem from the normal practice of these Typica which insert the Synapte at this point when Vespers are celebrated in connection with the Eucharistic Liturgy.

Sin 150 indicates an Eisodikon, "Ὁ Μονογενής". Here we are probably dealing with an item whose presence is due to a certain hesitation as to how much of the Liturgy was to be omitted in conjunction with the Vesper service.

The use of the Basil Liturgy though not indicated in the SOPH books probably stemmed from the common practice of the times, which prescribed this as the normal Liturgy²⁶.

We are somewhat surprised to find that the ceremony of the Holy Fire which in the Jerusalem Cathedral Liturgy evolved from the ancient Paschal Lucernarium has left no trace in these monastic documents. To some extent this is understandable inasmuch as the rite is closely linked with the physical presence of the Holy Sepulchre, and it would be logical for the monastic Typica to leave such an item aside. However, the Georgian lectionary's account of Easter at Sabba shows that the rite was to some extent imitated even in the monastery. After the gathering outside the church before Vespers, there are three processions around the churches of the monastery followed by the chanting of Ps 112,1 (a psalm used also in the Lucernarium in the Holy Sepulchre itself). As we have said, however, this ceremony seems to have left no trace

²⁶ Cf. JACOB, *Histoire*, pp. 43 ff.

in the ensemble of manuscripts of either the Studite or the Sabba tradition. Only in two Sabbite documents (Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat Gr 402) do we find what might be the traces of this early Sabba Lucernarium: gathering outside the church, arrival of the priest accompanied by lamps, closing of the doors and re-opening of them for the entrance. This ceremony, however, is not completely parallel to that of the early Sabba one: there is no chant of Ps 112, nor are there any real processions, and finally, the lamps which accompany the priest, are probably simply intended to add to the solemnity.

If the ceremony is truly a relic of the early Sabba Lucernarium, its similarity to the beginning of Orthros in the ensemble of the other Sabbite documents suggests the possibility that it might have been transferred in these latter from the beginning of Vespers to the beginning of Orthros. It will be remembered that by the time of HS 43 the ancient Lucernarium had been transferred from the beginning of the service to the curious position after the OT readings. Thus there might have been a similar transfer in the Sabbite documents from the beginning of Vespers to the beginning of Orthros. There is, however, a serious objection against this possibility. It is the fact that we find similar items at the beginning of HS 43 itself in addition to the "Lucernarium" found at the end of the OT readings: distribution of candles, procession to the narthex with lit candles, initial blessing, psalm verses with X. A., entrance.

In the light of this latter consideration, we believe that in the ensemble of monastic documents the ceremony at the beginning of Orthros parallels that of HS 43 at the beginning of its Orthros and does not constitute a transference of the ancient Jerusalem Lucernarium. In any case the ceremony at the beginning of Orthros is, no doubt, something of a prolongation of the theme of the Easter light elaborated at the Jerusalem Vigil. It remains possible that the gathering outside the church before Vespers in Sabba 612 and Bibl Nat 402 is a relic of the ancient Sabba Lucernarium at the beginning of Vespers.

With regard to the final stage of the evolution between the manuscript traditions and the printed Typicon, the loss of the Prokeimenon before the OT readings and the reduction of the chanted canticle of Ex 15,1-18 to the status of a simple reading seem to be due to a process of simplification which was to continue even further in the later printed Typicon of 1888 in which the OT readings are reduced to three²⁷. We were not able to discover

²⁷ *Typicon, Constantinople 1888*, pp. 381-82. The readings are: Gen 1,1-3,24; Jn 1,1-4,11; Dan 3,1-51.

the source for the introduction of the "Σιγησάτω" and for the change of refrain for the canticle of Dan 3,57-88.

Meal and Intermediate Offices

While the Sabba documents present few variants from the Model's version of the meal and the intermediate office, we find in the Studite documents a considerable lack of concordance: location of the meal, amount and type of food eaten, nature of the intermediate office, presence or absence of an interval between the end of the intermediate Office and the beginning of orthros.

The earliest Studite documents, the Hypotyposis and Diatyposis, explicitly say that Compline is to be omitted on Holy Saturday and otherwise limit their remarks to a brief description of the meal which follows Vespers. It is clear that the monks went to their cells to sleep during the night, for the beginning of the account of Orthros speaks of their being awakened for this service next morning. Thus these documents clearly separate Vespers from Orthros. At the other end of the evolution we find that the ensemble of the Sabba documents and even some of the later Studite ones (Tor 216 and Ath 788) prescribe a continuous service: Vespers-meal-intermediate office-Orthros.

We believe that the principal cause of these variations stem from a confusion as to when the penitential spirit of Lent ends and the joyful one of Easter begins. Clearly enough, historically speaking, the Vigil represents the turning point. This is born out by the texts of the actual service found in these documents: Easter praeconium (Ps 81,8 after the Apostle) and the reading of the Resurrection Gospel at the Liturgy. Logically speaking, then, we would expect a festive meal after its celebration. Further, Jeremias has pointed out that the Paschal Vigil was considered in the ancient Church precisely as the conclusion of the great Fast, to be celebrated by a meal²⁸.

This latter point of view seems to be reflected in such documents as Vat Gr 2029 and Tor 216 where the meal includes items not permitted during the Lenten fast. A second point of view, however, begins to make itself felt in certain other documents. Ath 788 explains the frugal nature of the meal, which it prescribes, with these words: "Ἀγόμεν γὰρ καὶ σήμερον ἀργίαν τῆς τραπέζης". This clearly indicates the penitential mood of the meal according to this document. This same spirit is reflected, for instance, in Ivir 754 where the meal consists solely of antidoron and wine.

²⁸ JEREMIAS, *Pascha*, pp. 901-903.

Even the Vatopedi version of the Hypotyposis has a more austere meal than the Vatican one. Thus we see that, despite the obviously joyous character of Vespers which enshrine the ancient Paschal Vigil, these monks considered that the full celebration of Easter had not yet arrived.

It would perhaps be going too far to affirm categorically that this monastic meal is the true heir of the meal with which the ancient Paschal Vigil was concluded. It may have originated simply in the need to permit the monks some light nourishment. In any case, one thing is certain. The points of view of the various documents differ concerning the spirit — joyous or penitential — of the meal.

One reason for this change of point of view might have stemmed from an idea according to which the penitential regulations of Lent come to an end only at midnight of Holy Saturday. In line with this the character of the meal would have been revised.

Another factor which was possibly determinative in this regard is that in a desire to prolong the celebration of the Vigil, the interval during which the brethren returned to their cells in the earlier documents was eventually filled up with an intermediate office, itself prolonged in some cases by supplementary readings until the actual beginning of Orthros²⁹. This arrangement is the one we find in the later Sabba documents. In this supposition the meal (henceforth celebrated no longer in the refectory or in the narthex of the church but within the church itself thus emphasizing the continuity of the service) must have seemed problematic coming before the end of the block, Vespers-intermediate office-Orthros, henceforth considered as a whole. Thus it would have been brought in line with the penitential spirit considered to be still reigning³⁰.

²⁹ The discordance about the nature and the length of the intermediate office in the various Studite documents seems to point to the fact of its relatively recent character. Its shape seems to have been determined by individual monasteries. Sin 754 and 1614 witness to a simpler arrangement for the intermediate office indicating only the Holy Saturday Canon (instead of Compline, adds Sin 754). In the Jerusalem tradition Sabba 1096 similarly permits an abridgement of the ordinary Compline service.

³⁰ In *Constitutiones Apostolorum* XVIII,1 (cf. *Didascalia* I, 289) we find that the fast is concluded only at cockerow. This would seem to give some support to the practice of the later Sabbite tradition. The important point, however, is not the exact time at which the fast was concluded, but rather the fact that the end of the Vigil corresponded to the end of the fast. In the same *Constitutiones Apostolorum* XIX,2 (*Didascalia* I, 291) this is brought out by the fact that the same expression "until cockerow" is used with regards to the duration of the Vigil.

Orthros

While the office of Vespers departs very little from the ordinary shape of a normal Vespers-Liturgy arrangement, the service of Orthros contains considerable differences from ordinary Sunday Orthros. Not only does it begin with a curious gathering in the narthex, but many important items such as Ps 50 and the Great Doxology are missing. In the first section of this study we have already discussed the historical development of this office in Palestine. While it seems clear that the various monasteries inherited this service from Jerusalem through the Sabbite Typicon, the reasons for the strange shape it had must not have been clear to them. As a matter of fact, throughout the period during which the Studite Typicon held sway in the Byzantine monastic world we find a certain amount of hesitation among the various manuscripts about the exact shape of the service. Among the various discrepancies, which the manuscripts of this tradition betray, the documents, as a whole, fall into two groups corresponding to two different stages in an evolution.

1) The early Studite documents (Hypotyposis, Diatyposis and Sin 150) present a service, which follows more closely ordinary Sunday Orthros. As regards the second part of the office from the Canon until the kiss of peace, we have shown that the passing mention of such items as the Great Doxology and Ps 50 (universally omitted by the Sabba tradition) along with the general silence of these documents concerning this section suggests that this part of the office followed the normal Sunday order. The first part of the office, however, is described in detail. In place of the night office and Cathedral Vigil of ordinary Sunday Orthros we find the gathering in the narthex and the subsequent entrance into the church. In all three documents we find verses from Ps 117 with X. A. sung within the church itself. A glance at the schema of ordinary festal Orthros reveals an interesting point of contact: the presence of Ps 117 as the "invitatory psalm" of the night office section of the service. A further point of contact is suggested by Sin 150 which before the verses from Ps 117 has the Great Synapte, thus paralleling the pair "Synapte-Invitatory" found in festal Orthros.

Thus in an earlier period the Studite documents present an office which, although it departs from the schema of festal Orthros in that it is lacking the night office and Cathedral Vigil sections, nonetheless follows the schema of the morning office without sig-

nificant changes. The presence of "Ἀνάστασιν Χριστοῦ" and Ps 50 after the sixth Ode of the Canon represents an earlier shape of festal Orthros and not a departure from it. Further the use of Ps 117 (and the Synapte before it in Sin 150) suggests that a certain amount of introductory material was retained from the night section of the ordinary schema.

2) In the rest of the Studite documents, however, and all those of the later Sabba tradition, even the morning section of Orthros differs from the schema of ordinary festal Orthros, which according to the earlier documents seems to have followed the normal Sunday order. Thus we no longer find Ps 50 or the Great Doxology. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 even omit the Ainoi, as does HS 15, although it curiously retains the Anastasima Stichera. MS 380, however, which stands between the two groups in that it has points in common with both, still has the Great Doxology, although Ps 50 has already been lost.

Further, as we have pointed out, there seem to be some other indications of two periods of development among the documents of this second group. In a presumably earlier group (the Athos Sticheria, MS 380, and Ath 788) the Stichera used with the Ainoi are proper to Easter, whereas in the remaining documents the Anastasima of the first tone are found. There also seems to be some possibility that the Stichoi of Ps 67 with their Stichera did not exist from the beginning in the Studite liturgy.

With regard to the opening section of the office Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877 continue the tradition of the primitive version of the Hypotyposis according to which the gathering in the narthex and the entrance into the church takes place in complete silence. The other manuscripts show various stages of incorporation of the blessing or Stichoi from Ps 117 into the gathering in the narthex. These may be seen in Chart D of Section Three. Ps 117, however, is still the only psalm used for the Stichoi.

For the rest, we find that these later Studite documents betray a concern to relate the strange shape of the office to the more familiar one of ordinary Sunday Orthros. In some cases they insert items from this latter. Thus we find in many of the codices the Great Synapte inserted after the X. A. with verses from Ps 117 in an effort, no doubt, to situate it somewhere near the beginning of the service as on ordinary Sundays. It was, however, placed *after* the verses from Ps 117 instead of before them as in Sin 150. Similarly Crypt 404 adds after the Doxa of the Paschal Stichera, the *Pater* and two Troparia which it uses on ordinary Sundays.

Likewise the Sinai Triodion-Pentecostarion, Sin 754, does not simply describe the special form of the Easter service but points out all the items of the ordinary Office which are omitted:

ἐξάψαλμον... οὐ λέγεται οὐδὲ ὁ ν' ψαλμὸς οὐδὲ τὸ Δόξα ἐν ὑψίστοις... οὐτε εὐαγγέλιον ἐωθινὸν ἀναγινώσκεται.

With regards to the initial X. A. it adds a remark which shows its constant preoccupation with describing the Easter service in terms of the normal Sunday one: "λέγ(ει) ὁ ἱερεὺς ἀντ(ί) τοῦ Θ(εοῦ)ς κ(ύριου)ς τροπ(άριον) Χριστὸς ἀνέστη". This same remark further makes explicit the comparison we made above between the invitatory of Sundays and the X. A., in both of which verses of Ps 117 appear.

Thus we are faced with the curious fact that the evolution of the monastic Orthros of Easter was not in the direction of a greater conformity with the ordinary Sunday Orthros, but rather away from it. Were this evolution the result of causes existing with the individual branches of the Studite tradition itself, we do not believe that the results would have been so uniform. It is always Ps 50 and the Great Doxology which disappear. While the lack of uniformity of the earlier documents as regards the beginning of Orthros is mirrored in this later tradition, that part of the service which follows the Canon is relatively stable. Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 stand apart in that they lack the Ainoi.

In view of this, we feel that inspiration for these changes came from outside the tradition itself. Nothing in the books of the Great Church (from which the Studite liturgy draws heavily for certain of its offices) suggests anything that would explain the strange shape of Easter Orthros. In the light of our studies of the Jerusalem tradition, it seems clear that the source was Jerusalem itself, mediated no doubt by the later usages of the monastery of Sabba.

This latter point becomes clear when we consider how close the service in the later Studite books is to that of the final version of the Sabba Typicon. The differences in the initial section (gathering in narthex, X. A. with Stichoi, entrance, Synapte) are already found for the most part in one or other Studite manuscript. In the Sabbite books the Stichoi (chosen from Ps 67, Ps 117, or both of these) are now all sung in the narthex, and the Synapte after the entrance into the sanctuary has become a constant feature in the manuscripts. As regards the second part of the office, apart from a different arrangement of the patristic readings used

in conjunction with this section, we find that the main difference lies in the use of the Anastasima Stichera for the Ainoi in preference to the special Easter ones (a point which certain Typica of the Italo-Greek branch of the Studite tradition had already taken up) and in the use of four psalm verses and four Stichera after the Ainoi instead of the two used by the earlier tradition. The final Litany which varies a little in the Studite books has become fixed as the Ektenes in Sabba.

We do not wish to suggest, however, that the influence of Sabba on the Easter services of the Studite books began with this later set of Studite documents. It is clear that the variations from normal Sunday Orthros, which we find in the earlier Studite books, already reflect Jerusalem influence: gathering in the narthex, X. A. with Stichoi, entrance, Canon. What we seem to have in the later set of documents is a *second wave of influence* from Palestine. This need not surprise us, for the interdependence of various liturgical centers on one another is a continuous process of evolution.

Two hypotheses are possible with regards to these two successive stages in the history of the Studite Easter services; either they reflect two different periods in the liturgy of Sabba itself, or they are the result of a gradual infiltration of the Sabba liturgy, which itself from the beginning would have had the special shape of Orthros borrowed from the usages of the Holy Sepulchre. Unfortunately, the lack of documents for the crucial period between the Georgian Typicon's description of the Sabba liturgy and the final appearance of the first copies of the later Sabba Typicon, makes it impossible to give an adequate answer to this question. It is perhaps significant, however, that the editor of the Sinai redaction of the Georgian Lectionary in his remarks on the Easter celebrations at Sabba has nothing to single out about Orthros, save that the kiss of peace was exchanged between the brethren after the completion of the morning service "In impletione (Pascha) ad matutinum cum omne officium absolverint super Sabae monumento osculum datur omnibus fratribus ad invicem..." (756, critical apparatus for S). The remarks of the redactor of these notes are clearly intended to indicate particularities in the order of services for Easter, and it seems reasonable to suppose that his passing over the office of Orthros without comment points to the fact that it presented nothing out of the ordinary at this period in the history of the Sabba liturgy.

Morning Liturgy

The morning Liturgy need not detain us long. Here, once again, the Typicon of Hagia Sophia made itself felt in the monastic Typica, as it did through the Byzantine world. The principal point of difference from this tradition is that in some Studite documents a certain number of items are sung from within the sanctuary by the clergy. Most of the documents indicate the Apostle and Gospel but Vatop 322, Mess Gr 115 and Vat Gr 1877 add the Prokeimenon to these. Vatop 322 also adds the Alleluia. Finally, three manuscripts (Mess Gr 115, Tor 216, and Vat Gr 1877) reproduce SOPH's indication that the Gospel is to be sung both from within and without the sanctuary. Crypt 404 also imitates SOPH in that it has the Gospel read in both Latin and Greek; it extends this, however, also to the Apostle.

FINAL CONCLUSIONS

Having set the printed Typicon of 1545 as the end of our study, our research has been divided into three sections. The first two were aimed at studying the Cathedral Offices of Jerusalem and Constantinople, inasmuch as both of these centers were to have determinative influence on the shaping of the monastic Typicon which made its way into print. In the third Section we turned our attention to this monastic liturgy itself.

In Section One thanks to a relative abundance of material we were able to study the development of the Jerusalem Paschal Offices over a considerable period of time. The main documents on which our study was based were the Itinerarium of Egeria (end of the fourth century), the Armenian Lectionary (first half of the fifth century), the Georgian Lectionary (beginning of the eighth century), and the Typicon of the Anastasis (1122 A. D.).

The earliest version of the Jerusalem PASCHAL VIGIL which we were able to study was that represented by ARM. Its structure consisted of a preliminary Lucernarium, followed by the Vigil proper. This latter consisted of ten OT readings (during which baptism was administered) and the Eucharistic Liturgy. A second Liturgy was then celebrated in the Anastasis.

Taking this service as point of departure we found that the most important area of evolution over the centuries was that of the LUCERNARIUM. Primitively, this office was composed simply of the chanting of Ps 112 followed by the lighting of a candle. Most probably, this ceremony was celebrated entirely in the Anastasis, although ARM *J* and *Er* situate the lighting of the candle in the basilica. With GEORG, however, the rite was expanded by the introduction of three processions with psalmody. This was perhaps symbolic of the three days spent by Christ in the tomb. GEORG further introduced Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron* from daily Vespers. With HS 43 we find that the ancient Lucernarium was transferred to a position after the OT readings. In this way it was henceforth situated in the basilica instead of in the Anastasis. In its place at the beginning of the service HS 43 calls for the usual beginning of ordinary festal Vespers.

We have insisted on the fact that the *cause of this ritual evolution* lies in the ever greater importance given to the Lucernarium itself. The material light used in the rite is seen as symbolic of the Resurrection of Christ. In the course of time it is believed to be produced miraculously and hence becomes the object of a sort of cultus. We have given examples of this belief in various documents, the earliest of which dates from 870 A. D. This point of view led to an exaggeration of the importance of the ceremony, which eventually came to be considered as the central feature of the entire Vigil.

As regards the VIGIL PROPER, we have shown that, structurally speaking, there was little change over the centuries. Between the periods corresponding to the Armenian and Georgian Lectionaries the only important differences concern the hymnic elements. These are generally taken from different psalms in the two Lectionaries. The loss of the second Liturgy in GEORG is probably to be attributed to the influence of local usage in Georgia rather than to a new stage in the evolution of the true Jerusalem Rite, inasmuch as HS 43 still has this second Liturgy. HS 43 also witnesses to the introduction of elements from the Typicon of Hagia Sophia. The Constantinopolitan cursus of fifteen OT readings completely replaced the ancient Jerusalem cursus along with the proper poetic and prayer elements that were linked with it. The propers of the Vigil Liturgy are likewise borrowed, for the most part, from the capital. As regards the SECOND EUCHARISTIC CELEBRATION we have shown that its purpose seems to have been a celebration of the Resurrection in the place where it occurred in a way parallel to the celebration of the coming of the Holy Spirit on Pentecost.

Our study has further attempted to point out the dynamic principles at work behind this development. Of prime importance in shaping the structural evolution is the gradual reduction of the ancient Vigil service to the schema of festal Vespers. A first step in this direction is the addition of Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron* which we find in GEORG. By the time of HS 43 the entire structure of festal Vespers has been incorporated. It is interesting to note that in this process the ancient Lucernarium has been retained even though this entails a double Lucernarium — the ancient one in addition to Ps 140 and *Phos hilaron*.

Another important factor in this evolution was the influence of the monks resident in the holy city. This is especially evident in the first half of the service as it occurs in HS 43. Here the festal Vesper service to which the ancient Vigil has been reduced

is precisely that of the Typicon of Saint Sabba. Not only the structure but much of the hymnic material is identical. As regards the second half of the service, the influence of Hagia Sophia is predominant. Both the readings and many hymnic elements of its Typicon replace the corresponding ones in the ancient Jerusalem tradition.

In contrast to the relative structural stability of the Paschal Vigil, the offices of Easter morning show traces of considerable evolution over the centuries. Our first task was to determine whether or not the weekly CATHEDRAL VIGIL was celebrated on Easter Sunday. We have shown that this service was probably absent at the time of Egeria and of the Armenian Lectionary. It would seem that the second Liturgy celebrated at the end of the Paschal Vigil was designed to replace this weekly celebration on Easter Sunday, inasmuch as it had the same purpose: the commemoration of the Resurrection in the place that it occurred. By the time of GEORG, however, the Cathedral Vigil is clearly present. The same is true of HS 43. This weekly service was eventually added, however, even on Easter Sunday (GEORG and HS 43). Our study has shown that the evolution consisted in the *addition* of the Cathedral Vigil rather than in the *replacement* of the second Liturgy by this Vigil. Although ARM B and GEORG suggest the possibility that the second Liturgy gradually disappeared, their omission of this Liturgy seems to stem rather from the praxis of the local Armenian and Georgian Churches rather than from that of Jerusalem itself. HS 43, which represents a more faithful witness to this practice, has maintained *both* second Liturgy and Cathedral Vigil.

The ensemble of the earlier documents have nothing to say about ORTHROS properly so-called. The service which GEORG entitles "Ad Matutinum" is simply the Cathedral Vigil. Only in HS 43 do we find what is clearly called, "Orthros". The concrete content of this office, however, presents a problem. While the essential elements of Egeria's weekly Cathedral Vigil are all present at the end of Easter Orthros, a glance at the overall structure of the service shows that many of the other normal elements are missing: the entire section of nocturnal psalmody and, more important, Ps 50 and the Great Doxology, which pertain to the morning section.

This discovery led us to the conclusion that the point of departure for the elaboration of Easter Orthros in this document was not Sunday Orthros but rather the Cathedral Vigil. To this basic core was added a series of consecutive elements from monastic

Orthros: the Canon, the Exaposteilarion, and the Ainoi. This seems to us to be the explanation of the unusual structure of this important office, which was to find its way into the Sabba Typicon, although the Gospel reading was, paradoxically, lost.

As regards the MORNING LITURGY the early documents (ARM and GEORG) have the Apostle and Gospel in common but differ on the hymnic material. GEORG adds additional readings from the Old Testament. By the time of HS 43, however, the cursus of readings and most of the hymnic material has been borrowed from the Typicon of the Great Church.

Our research on the Cathedral Liturgy of Jerusalem thus helps to explain many aspects of the structure of the Paschal Office of Saint Sabba, which constitutes the term of our study. Another source, however, was of importance: the usages of Hagia Sophia of Constantinople, which we studied in the second Section. Our study of the Cathedral Liturgy of the capital was necessarily limited to the relatively short period covered by the available liturgical documents. For this reason our discussion of the structure of these offices was largely descriptive in character. We have shown, however, that the most important source of changes from the ninth to the eleventh century was the monastic influence on the services of the Great Church. This is evident, for instance, in the insertion of the first section of Sabbite Vespers into the Paschal Vigil of Hagia Sophia, the reading of Gregory of Nazianzus' Homily during the kiss of peace after Orthros, and the eventual adoption of Sabbite Orthros as a whole in the imperial chapel according to the description of Pseudo-Kodinos. Other items in Pseudo-Kodinos which represent a departure from former practice but which do not seem to stem from Palestinian practice are the following: 1) the spreading of laurel leaves during the chanting of Ps 81,8 at the Morning Liturgy, and 2) the fact that the emperor no longer assists at this Liturgy in Hagia Sophia but rather at one celebrated in the palace itself.

The structures used in the Typicon of Hagia Sophia for the Vigil and Orthros present no important variation from the usual schemas of a Paramone and solemn Orthros as found in this document, save that, in the case of the Vigil, the presence of baptism led to the introduction of several proper items, and that the chanting of Ps 81,8 replaced the usual Alleluia. There is no trace of a special Lucernarium as in Jerusalem, although we found what might be the trace of such a service following the changing of the altar cloths at the sixth hour. In any case, this is no longer connected with the Vigil. This stability of the Constantinopolitan

office stands in obvious contrast to what we found in the Jerusalem tradition. Although this tradition had little influence on the structure of the monastic offices, its cursus of readings and certain of the variable chants nonetheless made their way not only into the Typicon of the Stoudion but also into that of Saint Sabba.

After having studied the sources of later tradition in the first two sections, we turned our attention to the monastic tradition itself in the third section. Although this task entailed considerable effort in view of the great number of manuscripts consulted, the conclusions of this section were less impressive than those of the earlier ones, for the simple reason that the liturgy we found differed relatively little from the printed Typicon which we set as the end of our study.

Nonetheless, our study of the earlier monastic documents (Section Three, Part One) showed that there were sufficient variations enable us to speak of a first stage in the development of the monastic Paschal liturgy. Our study of the later monastic tradition (Section Three, Part Two) showed that the documents in question conformed more closely to the printed Typicon and thus represent a final stage in the development, immediately preceding that of the first printed edition. In this Section we studied the documents according to their place of origin, attempting to find traces of local traditions. Our study showed, however, that, for the most part, the various liturgical centers celebrated the liturgy in the same way. The few variations from the printed Typicon are generally found in various manuscripts of all of these centers.

We have tried to show that the division of the monastic liturgy into the Studite and Sabbite traditions is of limited significance. We are dealing, rather, with the evolution of one monastic liturgy. At an earlier period, the codification of this liturgy in the Typicon of the Stoudion achieved great popularity in the monastic world, whereas later it was replaced by that of Sabba. This must not, however, cause us to lose sight of the continuity in the historical evolution. This continuity is evident in certain documents of a transitional nature, as, for example, in the Typicon of Evergetes and that of George Mtatsmindeli.

Our study of HOLY SATURDAY VESPERS has shown that the structure of this office was fixed rather early in the history of the monastic liturgy. Even from the time of the Studite documents the cursus of OT readings and the proper chants of the Eucharistic Liturgy taken from the books of Hagia Sophia were set in the context of a Palestinian type Vesper service. This earlier monastic

tradition differs, however, from the later one in that the Stichera used in the first part of the office are poetic compositions proper to the day. The later tradition more usually used Stichera taken from the Octoechos, thus showing a tendency to reduce the Vigil to the typical Sunday schema. This phenomenon is realized in a truly surprising way in HS 43 where the order of normal Vespers is continued even beyond the OT readings. This is completely contrary to the normal practice of the Sabba Typicon in cases where a Liturgy is celebrated in conjunction with Vespers.

A further difference between the Studite and Sabba traditions consists in the fact that the former was in closer contact with the capital and made more ample use of its Typicon in the Vigil.

Our study has made clear that the earlier monastic tradition did not join Vespers and Orthros in one continuous celebration. In the oldest Studite documents, after the Vigil we find only a light MEAL, after which the brethren returned to their cells to rest until the beginning of Orthros. This interval of rest was preserved by certain Italo-Greek Typica. However, in the course of time an INTERMEDIATE OFFICE (Compline or Pannychis) was added after the meal. Eventually the meal was transferred from the refectory to the church, and the intermediate office, which followed immediately, was linked with Orthros, thus forming one continuous service.

While we found that the monastic Easter Vigil was relatively stable, the case of ORTHROS was quite different. In an earlier period the section of the office extending from the Canon to the kiss of peace followed the normal structure of Orthros. Two important items, Ps 50 and the Great Doxology, had not yet been excluded, as was to be the case in the later tradition. Nonetheless, the nocturnal section of the office along with the Cathedral Vigil had already disappeared. In their place we find a simple entrance from the narthex into the church in silence. This is followed by the chanting of verses from Ps 117 with X. A. These latter items, however, stand apart from the later tradition by their greater simplicity.

In a later period of the Studite liturgy and in that of Sabba, Orthros as a whole departs even more from the normal structure of this office, both by reason of the great complexity of its first part, as well as by the omission of Ps 50 and the Great Doxology in the second part.

Our research has also shown that there are other items where we can distinguish between an earlier and later period within the Studite tradition itself. First of all, certain manuscripts use

proper Stichera in conjunction with Pss 148, 149, and 150 rather than the Anastasima found in the later Studite and Sabbite traditions. Secondly, in an earlier period of the Studite liturgy the psalm verses and Stichera following Ps 150 are not present. The silence of the earlier documents seems to be significant on this point. In any case, when we begin to find clear indication of these items in the later Studite documents, the verses are all taken exclusively from Ps 67, and the Troparia used with them all have the same metrical structure. The final stage in this evolution as represented by the Sabbite tradition shows that two Stichera which do not fit the metre of the others have been added and, in some cases, a verse from Ps 117 is added to those from Ps 67.

Thus the history of the overall development of Orthros differs considerably from that of Vespers. In contrast with this latter office where the development was in the direction of an ever greater conformity with the ordinary *ordo* of Saturday evening Vespers, in the case of Orthros we find that the development goes in the other direction — towards an office which is further and further removed from ordinary festal Orthros. Our study of the Cathedral tradition of Jerusalem enables us to recognize in this strange evolution the influence of this important liturgical center. It seems highly probable that the channel through which these rites made their way into the Byzantine monastic world was the monastery of Saint Sabba. The monks of this monastery played an important role not only in the celebrations of the liturgy in the Anastasis but also in the elaboration of the form which this liturgy had in the eleventh century.

We were unfortunately unable to find documents which throw any light on a particularly obscure period in the history of the liturgy at Sabba itself, the period, namely, extending from the time of the Georgian Lectionary to that of the first documents of the later Sabba tradition. This period corresponds to the time during which the Typicon of the Stoudion was the one most popular in use among other monasteries. Thus the liturgy of the monastery of Sabba itself remains rather obscure. We have, nonetheless, a point of reference in the fact that the liturgy of the Stoudion was certainly inspired by the contemporary services of Saint Sabba. In fact, the items of Easter Orthros which even in the earliest Studite documents do not fit into the normal schema of this office must have come precisely from the direction of Sabba, since there seem to have been no precedents for these rites either in the Studite tradition itself or in that of Hagia Sophia from which this tradition frequently borrowed. Nonetheless, the lack of true

Sabbite documents corresponding to this period prevents us from determining with greater precision the concrete stages of the Palestinian influence on the Studite liturgy of Easter Orthros. We must limit ourselves to the affirmation that this influence consisted in at least two different waves, corresponding to the two stages we found in the development of the Studite books.

With the help of certain poetical and musical collections we were able to find several traces of even earlier periods in the history of monastic usage. They are too few in number and too ill-defined to permit us to determine the structure of this earlier office, however, and we must be satisfied to call attention to them.

INDEX OF INCIPITS OF THE EASTER STICHERA

For convenience sake each manuscript in which the Easter Stichera are found has been assigned a number in this *Index*. The following list indicates the manuscripts and the numbers corresponding to them. The symbol "(NF)" indicates that a given Sticheron is not to be found in FOLLIERI, *Initia*.

1 - Sin 150	23 - Mess Gr 142	45 - Sin 756
2 - Vatop 322	24 - Mess Gr 127	46 - Sin 1097
3 - Vat Gr 2029	25 - Crypt 378	47 - Sin 1216
4 - Ivir 754	26 - Crypt 408	48 - Sin 1244
5 - MS 380	27 - Crypt 291	49 - Sin 1098
6 - Ath 788	28 - Vat Gr 1517	50 - Mark Gr II 117
7 - Tif 222	29 - Vat Gr 1537	51 - Mark Gr II 118
8 - Crypt 300	30 - Lavra Γ 67	52 - Pat 218
9 - Crypt 292	31 - Lavra Γ 72	53 - Pat 220
10 - Vat Pius II Gr 30	32 - Vatop 1488	54 - Pat 227
11 - Vat Gr 771	33 - Lav Α 92	55 - Vat Reg Gr 58
12 - Vat Gr 2118	34 - HS 43	56 - Bibl Nat Gr 242
13 - Mess Gr 110	35 - Sin 1095	57 - Vat Gr 782
14 - Vat Barb Gr 484	36 - Sin 1094	58 - Sin 775
15 - Mess Gr 115	37 - Sin 1096	59 - Vat Gr 785
16 - Vat Gr 788	38 - Lavra Α 99	60 - Bibl Nat Gr 261
17 - Tor 216	39 - Sabba 628	61 - Vat Pal Gr 101
18 - Crypt 401	40 - Sin 736	62 - Bibl Nat Gr 263
19 - Crypt 404	41 - Sin 1241	63 - Bibl Nat Gr 260
20 - Vat Gr 1877	42 - Sin 754	64 - Bibl Nat Gr 246
21 - Crypt 210	43 - Sin 755	
22 - Crypt 486	44 - Sin 1242	

Note: Sticheron 92 occurs in FOLLIERI, *Initia* without the initial "τὸ", which is found in the manuscript itself.

- 1 Ἀγαλλιᾶσεως ἡμέρα - 34
- 2 Ἀγαλλιᾶσθωσαν ἅμα ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ ἡ γῆ - 8 (NF)
- 3 Ἀγαλλιασώμεθα ψυχῇ - 8, 10, 22, 34, 40
- 4 Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε ... Βασιλεῖς ἤσατε - 6, 11, 22
- 5 Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε ... λύπης ἢ ἀναίρεσις - 25 (NF)
- 6 Ἄγγελοι σκιρτήσατε ... λύπης ἢ ἀφαίρεσις - 10, 21, 24, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 34, 41, 48, 60, 63
- 7 Αἱ μυροφόραι γυναῖκες - 1, 8, 11, 12, 16, 22, 28, 31, 32, 35, 36, 40, 42, 44, 45, 48, 50, 55, 58, 61, 62, 64
- 8 Ἀκούσατε ταῦτα - 31
- 9 Ἄκρα τῆς γῆς - 11
- 10 Ἀναξ Θεὸς τῶν δυνάμεων - 11
- 11 Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα ... καρποφορήσωμεν - 5, 6, 9, 13, 16, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 47, 48, 51, 53, 54, 60
- 12 Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ λαμπρυνθῶμεν ... εἰπώμεν, ἀδελφοί, καὶ τοῖς μισοῦσιν ἡμᾶς - 6, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 28, 30, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 50, 51, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 64
- 13 Ἀναστάσεως ἡμέρα καὶ λαμπρυνθῶμεν ... εἰπώμεν, ἀδελφοί, μετὰ τοῦ προφήτου Δαυὶδ - 30
- 14 Ἀνέτειλας ἐκ τοῦ τάφου ὥραϊος - 31
- 15 Αὕτη ἡ κλητὴ καὶ ἁγία ἡμέρα - 31
- 16 Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸ μνήμα - 6, 40
- 17 Γυναῖκες πρὸς τὸν τάφον - 8 (NF)
- 18 Δεῦτε ἀπὸ θείας - 6, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 48, 50, 55, 56, 58, 61, 62, 64
- 19 Δεῦτε ὁ χριστάνυμος λαὸς - 31
- 20 Δεῦτε πάντα τὰ ἔθνη - 31
- 21 Ἐβασίλευσεν ὁ Θεὸς - 11
- 22 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος ... αὐτὸς ἀνέστη - 31
- 23 Ἐν ἀρχῇ ἦν ὁ Λόγος ... οὗτος εὐδοκία - 30, 31
- 24 Ἐν τῇ μεγίστῃ τῶν ἑορτῶν ἡμέρα - 31
- 25 Ἐν τῇ τοῦ πάσχα μεγαλειότητι - 31
- 26 Ἐξαστράπτων ὁ ἄγγελος ἐν τῷ λίθῳ - 31
- 27 Ἐξηγέρθη Χριστὸς ἐκ τοῦ μνήματος - 11, 30, 31, 34
- 28 Ἐπλήσθη τὰ σύμπαντα χαρᾶς - 31, 40, 54
- 29 Εὐφρανέσθωσαν οἱ οὐρανοὶ - 1, 3, 11, 12, 14, 22, 32
- 30 Εὐφράνθητε οὐρανοὶ - 11

- 31 Ἡ βασιλὶς καὶ κυρία - 8
- 32 Ἡ λαμπρὰ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως ... ἡμέρα ἐξανέτειλε - 31
- 33 Ἡ λαμπρὰ τῆς Ἀναστάσεως ... ἡμέρα ὑπογράφει - 31
- 34 Ἡ μὲν ἡμέρα τοῦ πάθους σου - 31
- 35 Ἡ παράνομος κουστωδία - 30, 31
- 36 Ἡύγασε τὸ φῶς τῆς λαμπροφύρου ἡμέρας - 31
- 37 Ἰδωσαν λαοὶ τὸ σωτήριόν σου τῆς δόξης - 31
- 38 Ἱερουσαλὴμ Σιών ἁγία χόρευε - 31
- 39 Κροτήσατε τὰ ἔθνη χεῖρας - 31
- 40 Μέγα τὸ μυστήριον τῆς οἰκονομίας - 1, 31
- 41 Μυροφόροι γυναῖκες τῷ τάφῳ - 31
- 42 Οἱ οὐρανοὶ εὐφρανέσθωσαν - 11, 31
- 43 Οἱ οὐρανοὶ σὺν τοῖς ἀγγέλοις - 31
- 44 Ὅνπερ τὸ πρὶν ἡ παρθένος - 30, 31, 32
- 45 Ὁ τοῦ Πατρὸς συνάναρχος - 31
- 46 Πάσχα ἑορτῶν ἑορτὴ χορεύσωμεν - 23, 30, 31, 32
- 47 Πάσχα ἱερὸν ἡμῖν σήμερον ἀναδέδεικται - 5, 6, 8, 10, 11, 12, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 28, 29, 31, 32, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 48, 49, 50, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64
- 48 Πάσχα ἱερὸν σήμερον ἡμῖν τοῖς πιστοῖς - 31
- 49 Πάσχα καθαρτήριο - 8, 10, 22, 34, 40
- 50 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ἀνέστη γὰρ - 31
- 51 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ... πατήσας - 31
- 52 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ... τὸν θάνατον πατήσας - 9, 23, 31, 52, 54
- 53 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὅτι Χριστὸς ἀνέστη ... τὸν θάνατον σκυλεύσας - 31, 48
- 54 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὅτι Χριστὸς ἐκ τάφου - 31
- 55 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὅτι Χριστὸς θανάτου κράτος - 31
- 56 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὅτι Χριστὸς τὸν ἄδην - 31
- 57 Πάσχα Κυρίου ἑορταζέτω ... ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν γὰρ ἐτύθη - 9, 23, 44, 48, 52, 54 (NF)
- 58 Πάσχα ὁ ἄμνος ἡμῖν τέθυται θεῖον σφάγιον - 21, 34, 43
- 59 Πάσχα ὁ ἄμνος ἡμῖν τέθυται τοῦ Θεοῦ καὶ Πατρὸς - 8, 10, 11, 21, 22, 40 (NF)
- 60 Πάσχα ὁ ἄμνος τέθυται τοῦ Θεοῦ - 31
- 61 Πάσχα ὁ Χριστὸς ἡμῖν τέθυται - 8, 10, 11, 15, 20, 22, 42
- 62 Πάσχα τὸ θεῖον θεώμενοι - 11
- 63 Πάσχα τὸ μακάριον - 8, 22, 40

- 64 Πάσχα τὸ μέγα τὸ τῆς ἐνδόξου - 31, 41
 65 Πάσχα τὸ σεβάσμιον φαιδρὰ ἑορτῆς - 8, 10, 22, 34, 40
 66 Πάσχα τὸ τερπνὸν - 10, 12, 16, 23, 24, 26, 28, 30, 31, 32, 35, 36, 38, 39, 41, 42, 44, 45, 48, 50, 52, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 64
 67 Πάσχα τὸ χαρμόσυνον - 8 (NF)
 68 Πάσχα τῶν πιστῶν - 9 (NF)
 69 Πάσχα τῶν ψυχῶν - 23, 30, 31, 32, 41, 44, 48
 70 Πάσχα χαρμοσύνης ἡμῖν ἐπέφανε - 30, 31, 32
 71 Πάσχα Χριστὸς ἐκ τάφου - 31
 72 Ποῦ εἰσιν αἱ σφραγίδες - 31
 73 Πύλας μὲν παρθενίας - 31
 74 Πύλας χαλκᾶς καὶ μοχλοῦς - 31
 75 Σήμερον ἀναστὰς ἐκ τάφου Χριστὸς - 11
 76 Σήμερον ἀνέτειλεν τὸ μακάριον Πάσχα - 31
 77 Σήμερον ἔαρ ψυχῶν - 31
 78 Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ γέγονεν - 1, 5, 34
 79 Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ ὅσος τε - 1, 5, 6, 9, 11, 13, 16, 22, 23, 24, 26, 27, 30, 31, 32, 41, 44, 47, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 56, 60, 63
 80 Σήμερον τὸ πανσεβάσμιον Πάσχα - 31, 44
 81 Σκιρτάτω πᾶσα ἡ κτίσις - 31, 41
 82 Στέφει τῷ θεῷ - 11
 83 Τὴν τῶν Ἀποστόλων ἀκρότητα - 9
 84 Τῆς λαμπρᾶς καὶ ἐνδόξου - 6, 9, 11, 16, 22, 23, 24, 26, 30, 31, 34, 44, 48, 51, 52, 53, 54, 60, 63
 85 Τῆς λαμπροφύρου ἡμέρας τῆς ἐγέρσεως - 30, 31
 86 Τί φαιδρότερόν ἐστιν - 31
 87 Τὸ θεῖον Πάσχα καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ σεβάσμιον - 41
 88 Τὸ θεῖον Πάσχα καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ἁμωμον - 31
 89 Τὸ μακάριον Πάσχα ἀνέτειλεν - 31
 90 Τὸ μακάριον Πάσχα καὶ ὑπερκόσμιον - 30, 31, 32
 91 Τὸν ἐξ ἀχράντων λαγόνων - 31
 92 Τὸν τάφον σου Σωτὴρ - 8, 40
 93 Τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη ... αἰθις - 31
 94 Τὸ Πάσχα ἡμῶν ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν ἐτύθη ... ἵνα ἡμᾶς ἐξαγοράσῃ - 31
 95 Τὸ Πάσχα τοῦτο τὸ μέγα ἢ λαμπροφύρος - 30, 31, 44
 96 Τὸ Πάσχα τοῦτο τὸ μέγα τε καὶ σεβάσμιον - 31
 97 Τὸ Πάσχα τοῦτο τὸ τρισόλβιον - 31

- 98 Τοῦ θεοδέγμονος τάφου - 31
 99 Τὸ φαιδρὸν κήρυγμα - 31
 100 Τριήμερος ἀναστὰς ἐκ τοῦ τάφου - 31
 101 Τῶν ἑορτῶν ἡ κυρία - 8 (NF)
 102 Φῶς ὑπάρχων ἀληθινὸν - 31
 103 Χαίροις ἡ νέα Σιών - 11
 104 Ὡς θαύματος παραδόξου - 31
 105 Ὡς Πάσχα θεῖον δι' οὗ πιστοῖς ἐξέλαμψεν - 30, 31
 106 Ὡς Πάσχα μέγα καὶ ἱερὸν - 11, 31
 107 Ὡς περ ἐκ Μητρὸς ἀπαθῶς προῆλθες - 31
 108 Ὡς περ ἐκ παρθένου ἐτέχθης - 31
 109 Ὡς φύλακες Ἰουδαίων - 30, 31, 32, 60

CHART A

General Outline of the Paschal Services in Jerusalem According to the Principal Documents

Chart A - 1

ARM J	GEORG P	SABBA (GEORG S)	HS 43
Le jour du samedi, le soir, dans la sainte Pâques,	In magno sabbato, ad vespas. Cum sol occiderit, (S: Vesperarum hora/L: Ab hora decima pulsant ad offi- cium)	... a sexta hora ad vespas orationem	ώρα 6'
	congregantur in s. Anastasi et muniunt portas. (L: et intrant in ecclesiam episcopus vel sacerdos et dia- conus. Alius populus foris stat et portas muniunt.) (L: candelam accendunt)	congregantur	καταβαίνει ὁ πατριάρχης σὺν τῷ κλήρῳ ἀλλαγμένοι ἄσπρα εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Ἀνάστασιν, ἀνευ φωτασίου καὶ θυμια(τοῦ)
(P: Office des lumières à la Sainte-Anastasis):	three processions in the course of which there is sung: (among other Psalms)	et cum tribus turibulis tres ecclesias circumeunt cum si- lentio et ter incenso incensant.	
l'évêque psalmodie... le psau- me CXII, Antienne Ps. CXII,2	Ps. 112,2 Stichus: v. 1	Et postea dicunt psalmum, modum: Ps. 112,2 stichus: v. 1	
	et post haec episcopus sacer- dotibus et diaconis et ministris ecclesiae osculi actionem dat.		
(P: Ensuite l'évêque allume trois cierges et après lui les diacres et toute l'assemblée.)	et episcopus benedicit cande- lam novam et accendunt can- delas		
... on monte au saint Marty- rium et l'évêque allume un cierge (P — omits this) (Er — l'évêque fait d'abord le lucernaire)	et aperiunt portas	et postea incipiunt et cum vesperarum canone	καὶ τότε ἄρξουν(αι) τὸ ἐσπερινὸν ἐπισθεὶς τοῦ Ἁγίου Τάφου ἐν γα- ληνότητι. "Εὐλόγει ἡ ψυχὴ μου".
		cum Ps. 1, totum orant	Στιχολογ(οῦμεν) τὸ "Μακάριος ἀνὴρ". Τὸ "Κύριε ἐκέκραξα" ἦχος α' sung with στιχηρὰ ἀναστάσιμα ἀνατολικά. Εὐθὺς γίνεται εἰσοδος καὶ τὸ "Φῶς λαβόν", καὶ γίνεται κά- θεδρα.
	Et "Domine clamavi" (Ps. (CXL) incipiunt cantare. Illu- minare; illuminare (Is. LX,1) et finem faciunt.		
	Et post φῶς λαβόν intrant episcopus, diaconi et sacer- dotes in secretum (saceriton).		
et les clercs aussitôt commen- cent la Vigile de la sainte	Et illinc exeuntes		

Chart A - 2

ARM J	GEORG P	SABBA (GEORG S)	HS 43
Psaume CXVII, Antienne <i>ibid.</i> CXVII,24	Psalmum hunc recitant festiva voce alternis vicibus : Ps. 147 Kverexi et oratio at the altar Psalmus 81,1 Stichus: <i>ibid.</i> , v.1	Et iterum incipiunt : Venite adoremus et proiciam (sic) (Ps. 94,6)	Prokeimenon : Ps 92,1c with two Stichoi : 1 : <i>ibid.</i> , 1d 2 : <i>ibid.</i> , 1c
READINGS (12)	READINGS (12)	READINGS (12)	READINGS (15)
Pattern of each : (verses of Ps. 117)?	During the readings baptism is administered by the bishop or by a priest. Pattern of each reading : lectio kverexi et oratio (S adds : cum genuum flexione)	Pattern of each : psalmum cum alleluia Gloria kverexi et oratio cum ge- num flexione lectio kverexi et oratio cum ge- num flexione	Pattern of each : reading (called προφητ(ε)ια)
leçon prière avec genuflexion			
1) Gen 1,1 - 3,24 2) Gen 22,1-18 3) Ex. 12,1-24 4) Jon 1,1 - 4,11 5) Ex 14,24 - 15,21 (The canticle, Ex 15,1-21 is provided with a refrain, <i>ibid.</i> , 1 in <i>Er</i>) 6) Is 60,1-13 (with non-scriptural re- frain in <i>P</i> and <i>Er</i>) 7) Job 38,1-28 8) 2 Kings 2,1-22 9) Jer 31,31-4 10) Jos 1,1-19 11) Ezek 37,1-14 12) Dan 3,1-90 (<i>J</i> , <i>P</i> , and <i>Er</i> all have two non-scriptural refrains)	1) Gen 1,1 - 3,24 2) Gen 22,1-18 3) Ex 12,1-24 4) Jon 1,1 - 4,11 5) Ex 13,17 - 15,21 6) Is 60,1-22 without refrain 7) Job 38,2 - 39,35 8) 2 Kings 2,1-22 (<i>S</i> is <i>texte de base</i> hence- forth) 9) Jer 31,31-34 10) Jos 1,1-19 11) Ezek 37,1-14 12) Dan 3,1-90 (No mention is made of the canticle as being sung.)	Ps 9 + Gen 1,1 - 3,24 Ps 10 + Gen 22,1-18 Ps 11 + Ex 12,1-24 Ps 12 + Jon 1,1 - 4,11 Ps 13 + Ex 13,17 - 14,32 In hypakoi modo dicunt mo- dum IV ad 3 versus et oratio- nem faciunt : Ex 15,1 followed by text of canticle : <i>ibid.</i> , 1-21 Ps 14 + Is 60,1-13 Ps 15 + Job 38,1-28 Ps 16 + 2 Kings 2,1-22 Ps 17 + Jer 31,31-34 Ps 18 + Jos 1,1-19 Ps 19 + Ezek 37,1-14 Ps 20 + Dan 3,1-90	1) Gen 1,1-5 2) Is 60,1-16 3) Ex 12,1-11 Prokeimenon : Ps 26,1b Stichos : v. 1c 4) Jon 1-4 5) Jos 5,10-15 6) Ex 13,20 - 15,19 sung with refrain : 'Ενδόξως γάρ δεδοξαστε (v. 1b) 7) Zeph 3,8-15 8) 1 Kings 17,2-24 9) Is 61,10 - 62,5 10) Gen 22,1-18 11) Is 61,1-9 12) 2 Kings 4,8-37 13) Is 63,11-64,4 14) Jer 38,31-4 15) Dan 3,1-88 from verse 57 sung with refrain : 'Υμνεῖτε καὶ ὑπερυψοῦτε αὐτὸν εἰς τοὺς αἰῶνας. (v. 57b) Incensation of shrines. Pat- riarch after prayer and prost- rations enters the tomb and brings out the holy fire, from which all light their candles. Procession to the basilica (with chanting of Pss 64,147, and 150 with two Stichera), where Vespers are concluded : Κατα- ξίωσον, στιχηρά (εἰς τὸν στίχον), Canticle of Simeon, εὐχή by Patriarch, who then goes to the baptistery for baptisms.

Chart A - 3

EGERIA

quemadmodum exierint de fonte simul cum episcopo primum ad Anastase ducuntur. Intrat episcopus intra cancellos Anastasis, dicitur unus hymnus, et sic facit orationem pro eis,

et sic uenit ad ecclesiam maiorem cum eis, ubi iuxta consuetudinem omnis populus uigilat. Aguntur ibi quae consuetudinis est etiam apud nos,

et facta oblatione

fit missa. Et post facta missa uigiliarum in ecclesia maiore, statim cum hymnis uenitur ad Anastasi

et ibi denuo legitur ille locus evangelicus resurrectionis fit oratio

et denuo offeret episcopus sed totum ad momentum fit propter populum, ne diutius tardetur, et sic iam dimittetur populus. Ea autem hora fit missa uigiliarum ipsa die qua hora et apud nos.

ARM J

Et pendant qu'on dit la bénédiction, au milieu de la nuit, la multitude des nouveaux baptisés entrent avec l'évêque

et ce canon est exécuté :

Ps 64 with verse 2
as refrain
I Cor 15,1-11

Alleluia : Ps. 29,2

Mt 28,1-20

Et là même on offre le sacrifice ;

et après le renvoi, à la même heure de la nuit, on fait l'oblation à la Sainte Anastasis devant le saint Golgotha.

(B : they enter the Holy Anastasis.)

et aussitôt on lit à la Sainte Anastasis : Jn 19,38 - 20,18

(oblation) (cf. above)

GEORG S

Et post hoc introducuntur baptizati in ecclesiam cum hac hypakoi : Qui baptizati estis. (Gal 3,27)

Et post hoc incipiunt canonem missae sacrificii.
Troparion : Christus surrexit a mortuis morte

Psalmus : Ps 64,2
stichus : v. 3
I Cor. 15,1-11

Alleluia : Ps 147,2 or
Ps 101,14

Mt 28,1-20

Manuum lotionis (cantus) (non-scriptural)

Sanctificationum (cantus) (non-scriptural)

(L adds : Intrantes ad uigilias canonem non dicunt, librum tantum legunt quia gaudere oportet hac nocte.)

AD MATUTINUM

(L : Confitemini, Ps 117/136 ?)

Evangelica prokeimena :

— Ps 43,24 ; stichus : *ibid.*, 25

— Ps 101,14 ; stichus : *ibid.*, 2

— Non-scriptural text with stichus : Ps 150,1

Jn 20,1-18

Orationem facite

(L : "Tractus" two non-scriptural chants)

SABBA (GEORG S)

et in 3 quippe ecclesiis missae sacrificium perficiunt, vos autem sicut vultis, facite ...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

...

HS 43

καὶ πάλιν ὑποστρέφει (the patriarch) εἰς τὸν "Ἅγιον Κωνσταντῖνον,

καὶ ἀρχεται ἡ λειτουργία. Στιχ(ηρόν) εἰς τὴν εἴσοδ(ον). (non-scriptural) Δόξα. Κονδάκιον. Ἀντὶ το(ῦ) Τρισαγίου λέ(γεται) "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστόν..."

Prokeimenon : Ps. 65,4 ;

Stich : v. 1 ;

Romans 6,3-11

Ἀντὶ τὸ "Ἀλληλούια" ...

Ἀνάστα ὁ Θεός (ps. 81,8)

Stich : v. 1

Mt 28,1-20

Στιχηρόν εἰς τὰ ἅγια (non-scriptural) Stichos : Ps 79,3bc
ἀντὶ τὸ χειροβικόν, στιχηρόν (non-scriptural)

The Liturgy is completed by the πρωτοπ(α)π(ᾱ). The patriarch and the archdeacon go to the tomb to celebrate the Liturgy of St. James.

Jn 20,1 - 18 read by patriarch
Εἶτα τὰ ἅγια, καθὼς ἐμπροσθεν. Κοινωνικόν Σῶμα Χριστοῦ. Ἐξηγέρθη ... Εὐχὴ τῆς ἀπολύσεως : — ὁπισθ(άμβωνος) : —

The μυστήρια enter the tomb after the dismissal, in order to incense and anoint it. After all the people have left the church, they lock the doors and the church remains closed until the patriarch comes down ὁρθρου βαθείας.

(Orthros of HS 43 is studied in connection with the later Byzantine tradition)

Chart A - 4

ARM J

A l'aube ... on s'assemble dans le même saint Martyrium et ce canon est exécuté :

(EGERIA : Procreditur autem ipsa die dominica prima in ecclesia maiore, id est ad Martyrium.)

Psaume LXIV, Ant. *ibid.* v. 2

Acts 1,1-14
Alleluia, Ps. CXLVII, 12
(*Er* : *ibid.*, 1)

Mk 15,42 - 16,8

GEORG S

Synaxis
in Anastasi

Troparion : Unigenitus filius
et verbum

Ps. 117,24 Stichus *ibid.*, v. 25
or 1

Old Testament readings :
(L : Job 21,29-33 in addition
to the following)

Hos 5,13 - 6,3

Zeph 3,6-13

Acts 1,1-8

Alleluia, Ps. 67,2

alternatives : Ps 101,14

Ps 101,20-22

Ps 92,1

Ps 67,2

Mk 16,1-8

Manuum lotionis (cantus) :
two non-scriptural ones and
Ps. 116,12

Sanctificatorum (cantus) :
Alleluia, Gloria, aperiimini
portae ! Alleluia, Gloria, Al-
leluia. (perhaps inspired by
Ps 24,7-10).

Communio : two non-scriptural
ones

Completiones (?) : one non-
scriptural and Ps 64,5

SABBA (GEORG S)

HS 43

Ἡ ἀκολουθία τῆς λειτουργίας
εἰς τὴν Ἁγίαν Ἀνάστασιν.

Στιχηρὸν εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον
(as at Vigil Liturgy)
τὰ ἀντίφωνα γ'
στίχοι εἰς τὴν εἴσοδον : Χριστὸς
ἀνέστη
Δοῦξα, Κοντάκιον.
Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν
Χριστὸς ἀνέστη.

Prokeimenon : Ps 117,24
Stichos : *ibid.*, 1

Acts 1,1-14
Alleluia, Ps. 101,14

John 20,1-17 (read together
by the patriarch at the
συνθρόνῳ and the deacon
at the ambo.

Στιχηρὸν ... εἰς τὰ ἅγια : Πάσχα
λερὸν, Ps 81,8
Ἀντὶ Χερουβικόν — as at
Vigil Liturgy

... dum Credo dicunt, descen-
dit sacerdos missam celebrans
et se ponit ad gradum altaris
et sacerdotes et diaconi et
omnis populus osculum dant ad
invicem in acie, per ordinem,
alius post alium cum adora-
tione et genuum flexione.

proper ὁπισθάμβωνος
Ὑπακοή

CHART B

Gospel Readings at Orthros in HS 43

For the sake of convenience we include in this chart an outline of the weekly Cathedral Vigil according to Egeria's account and of Easter Orthros in GEORG.

Chart B - 1

EGERIA (XXIV, 9-11)	GEORG (741-43)	HS 43 Palm Sunday (Papadopoulos-Ker., 10-12)
Mox autem primus pullus cantaverit		After the sixth Ode of the Canon and the Kontakion:
	Ps 117 cum Alleluia (L)	Ps. 117
descendit episcopus et intrat intro speluncam ad Anastasin ...		At verse 20 (Αὐτὴ ἡ πόλῃ τοῦ Κυρίου· δίκαιοι εἰσελεύσονται ἐν αὐτῇ...) the patriarch, bishops and priests enter the Anastasis and go into the tomb. The deacons stand outside the tomb.
		Deacon: Synapte
dicet psalmum quicumque de presbyteris et respondent omnes,	Prokeimena evangelica (S): Ps 43,24 Stichus: <i>ibid.</i> , v. 25	Εἰτα ψάλλουν τὰ ἐπακουστά (ἐπακουστόν): Poetic composition with Stichos: Ps 144,13 (The poetic refrain begins with Ps. 117,26)
post hoc fit oratio.		—
Item dicet psalmum quicumque de diaconibus,	Ps 101,14 Stichus: <i>ibid.</i> , v. 2	Ἀντιφώνου Β' (ἐπακουστόν): Poetic composition inspired by Ps 85,8 with Stichos: <i>ibid.</i> , v. 14
similiter fit oratio.		—
dicitur et tertius psalmus a quocumque clerico,	Omnis spiritus laudate Deum quoniam lux est mundi, vita et resurrectio. Stichus: Ps 150,1,2	(ἐπακουστόν): Instead of Παῖσα πνοή: Θεὸς Κύριος (Ps 117,27a, 26b with Stichos: <i>ibid.</i> , v. 1b)
fit et tertio oratio et commemoratio omnium... ... thiamataria inferuntur intro spelunca Anastasis ...		
Et tunc ibi stat episcopus intro cancellos, prendet euangelium et accedet ad hostium et leget resurrectionem Domini episcopus ipse ...	Jn 20,1-18 After Gospel: Gloria tibi, Domine Jesu Christe, Deus noster, miserere nobis. (S)	ἀνα(γινώσκειται) εὐα(γγέλιον) ἀναστάσι(ον), ἐπὶ ἡ Ἀγία Ἀναστασις οὐ λείπει Κυ(ριακή) νὰ μὴ τὸ λέγεται, ἀλλὰ πάντοτε λέγεται. (Jn 21,14-25)

"Tractus": Domine, sicut

Special Troparion for Palm

Chart B - 2

HS 43 Easter Sunday (198-200)

(Procession from sekretion to the Anastasis with lighted candles to the chant of 'Ο ἄγγελος σου Κύριε and Easter Kontakion.

In narthex: verses of Pss 67,117 with Χριστὸς ἀνέστη
At verse 19 ('Ανοίξατέ μοι πύλας δικαιοσύνης...) they enter the Anastasis. The patriarch and archdeacon go into the taphos.)

AFTER THE AINOI:

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη three times

Σήμερον σωτηρία

Deacon: Synapte

λέ(γει) τὰ ἐπακουστά ὁ ἀρχιδιάκονος

καὶ ὁ ἥχος γ': Ps 95,10ab

Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 1 = Sunday Orthros Prokeimenon of 3rd tone

ἕτερον ἐπακουστόν:

Ps. 144,13 (to which is added the word "Christ")

Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 13c

Καὶ εὐθύς ὑψή(λῃ) φωνῇ λέγει: 'Οτι τὸ φῶς τῷ κόσμῳ καὶ τὴν ζωὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάστασιν

Δομέστικος: τὸ 'Ανάστηθ(ι)

Κύριε ὁ θεός μου (Ps 9, v. 33)

Stichos not given.

(= Sunday Orthros Prokeimenon of 5th tone)

During the reading of the Gospel which now follows the myrophorai incense continually until the end of the Gospel. They then enter the taphos to incense it within and to anoint it.

Synapte

Mark 16,1-8 (= 2nd Resurrection Gospel of Sunday Orthros) read by deacon from the door of the taphos
Δομέστικος: Δόξα καὶ νῦν
Second Heothinon Troparion

HS 43 Easter Weekdays

Mon: 211; Tues: 220

Wed: 227; Thur: 235

Fri: 244; Sat: 252

AFTER THE AINOI:

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη three times

ἐπακουστόν

Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday: Sunday morning Orthros Prokeimena of tones 8,4, and 5

Monday, Friday and Saturday: various Prokeimena

Sunday Orthros Resurrection Gospels in the following order: 4,1,7,8,10,11

Δόξα followed by the Sunday morning Orthros Heothinon Troparia corresponding to the above-mentioned Gospels

HS 43 Holy Saturday (176-78)

AFTER THE GREAT DOXOLOGY:

Troparion 'Ο συνέχων...

Synapte

ψάλλου(σι) τρεῖς διάκονοι τὰ ἐπακουστά ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ 'Αγίου Τάφου.

Μετὰ τὴν συναπτὴν ἥχος β': Ps 11, v. 6a-c Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 2 = Sunday Orthros Prokeimenon of 1st tone

ἕτερον ἐπακουστόν: ἥχος δ': Ps 43, v. 27 Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 5 (same psalm as Sunday morning Orthros prokeimenon of 4th tone)

Τὸ αὐτὸ προκείμενον ἥχος δ': Ps 43, v. 27 Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 2 = Sunday morning Orthros Prokeimenon of 4th tone

Block of OT-NT non-Gospel readings borrowed from the Constantinopolitan cursus. Alleluia with verses of Ps. 67

Mt 27,62-66

Stichera with Stichoi:

a) Ps 79,3b

b) Ps 11,6c

HS 43 Monday-Thursday of Holy Week

Mon 40-41; Tues 58-59

Wed: 74-75; Thur: 94-95)

Great Doxology as far as "τοῖς γνώσκουσί σε".

Prokeimenon

Two or three non-Gospel readings

Gospel

Καταζέωσον Κύριε...

Chart B - 3

EGERIA

...exit episcopus et ducitur
cum ymnis ad crucem et omnis
populus cum illo

Ibi denuo dicitur unus psalmus

et fit oratio

Item benedicit fideles et fit
missa ...

GEORG

orationem facite (S)

HS 43 Palm Sunday

Καὶ εὐθὺς λιτὴ ἐπὶ τὸ "Ἅγιον
Κρανίον ψάλλοντες στιχηρὸν ἤχου
πλαγίου β' Σήμερον ἡ χάρις...

The patriarch goes up to
Golgotha to incense.

Meanwhile, the protopriest and
the clergy who remain below
sing : Ps 133,2 Stichos : *ibid.*,
v. 3

When the patriarch descends,
Ps 50 is begun. Then ...

παραυτίκα λιτὴ ἐπὶ τὴν Ἁγίαν
Ἀνάστασιν.

The chanters go around the
tomb into choir where they
complete the last three Odes
of the Canon. Meanwhile,
patriarch and clergy go to the
Κατηχούμενα until the Apolysis.

CHART C

General Outline of the Paschal Service at Hagia Sophia of Constantinople According to the Principal Documents

Chart C - 1

TYPICA H and P	DRES	Prophetologia	Tiflis Synaxarion
(Mateos, Typicon II, pp. 84-95)	(Dmitrievskij, <i>Drevneškie</i> ; pages indicated below)	(Hoeg and Zuntz, <i>Prophetologia</i> Fasciculum 5, pp. 433-97)	
HOLY SATURDAY	HOLY SATURDAY	HOLY SATURDAY	HOLY SATURDAY
At the sixth hour, the emperor changes the altar cloth of the Holy Table, and the patriarch incenses the church.	(same ceremonies described in greatest detail on pp. 142-43, 158-160.)		At the sixth hour, the emperor comes down and changes the (altar) cloths.
The church is then opened.	(The following is based on Dmitrievskij's paraphrase of the manuscript, pp. 160-64). "When it is time, those destined for baptism come through the narthex to the royal doors. At the time of their prayers, the readers coming before the priests cry out: (the first): <i>Povelite</i> (= <i>Κελεύσατε</i>); (the second): <i>Nedelnie</i> (= <i>Ἑβδομαδάριοι</i> ?). When the subdeacons draw the veils from the baldachin and reveal the Holy Table the Liturgy begins."		
In the evening ...			
there is no proanagnosis. The three Antiphons:			
Κλῆνον Κύριε (Ps 85) variable psalmody			
Κύριε ἐκέκραξα (Ps 140)			
Entrance of the patriarch and priests with the Gospel, the great thurible, and three manoualia.		Refrains are given for Ps 140 : V + Sin 9 : Τὴν σωτήριόν σου ἔγερσιν δοξάζομεν, φιλόκωπον. Δ2 = Σαρκὶ παθῶν... Sin 14 = εἰθ' οὕτως τῆς Ὀκτοήχου εἰς ἡχὸν α' εἶτα δόξα καὶ νῦν ἡχος πλ. α' Σὲ τὸν ἀναβάλλομεν (sic) τὸ φῶς... V and d2 : without incense and Gospel	At the time of the chanting of Ps 140, the patriarch and the priests change to black vestments.
They come to the throne.	γενέσθαι τὴν ἄνω καθέδραν	After the Δόξα they go to the throne.	At the time of Φῶς λαρόν they enter the sanctuary.
Prokeimenon : Ps 65,4 Stichoi : 1) <i>ibid.</i> vv. 1-2 2) <i>ibid.</i> v. 2			The Prokeimenon is sung. (text not specified) The readings follow.

Chart C - 2

TYPICA H and P	DRES	Grottaferrata Γ β 1 (in Goar, <i>Euchologion</i> , pp. 291-292)	Prophetologia	Tiflis Synaxarion
After the first reading the patriarch goes to the great baptistery,	The patriarch places the Gospel on the throne and accompanied by manoualia goes through the skeuophylakion to the great Baptistery. In his absence from the church he is replaced by the second of the priests.	At the beginning of the second reading the patriarch goes through the skeuophylakion;	At this point only V mentions the patriarch's going to baptize and that only briefly.	After the first reading the patriarch leaves to baptize.
and changes to a white sticharion.	The patriarch changes to a white sticharion ἐν τῷ ἀνωτέρῳ οὐλήματι.	ἐν τῷ ἀποδύτῳ τοῦ μεγάλου βαπτιστηρίου he changes to a white sticharion and white sandals.		
He comes to the font, incenses three times encircling the font, accompanied by the deacons.	He incenses both fonts, the one for men and the one for women.	He incenses around the font.		
	He "blesses them with a candle."	σφραγίζει εὐχόμενος μετὰ κηρίου τρίς.		
(Order of baptism)	(Order of baptism)	(Order of baptism)		
Meanwhile in the church: Is 60,1-16 Ex 12,1-11 Prokeimenon: Ps 26,1a Stichoi: 1) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 1b 2) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 3	Not described in detail by Dmitrievskij		Is 60,1 - 16 Ex 12,1 - 11 All Mss. have this Prokeimenon (with only one Stichos) save Sin 8 which has Ps 92, v. 1a Stichos: <i>ibid.</i> 1b	
Jon 1,1 - 4,11 Jos 5,10 - 15 Ex 13,20 - 14,31 Deacon: Σοφία			Jon 1,1 - 4,11 Jos 5,10 - 15 Ex 13,20 - 14,31 mentioned only by Sin 9, Sin 247 which have here Εὐρήνη πᾶσι, Σοφία and Πρόσχωμεν as at the Gospel.	
Chanter entones the verses of the Ode of Exodus (15,1-18). Verse one is chanted as refrain.			V, d2, Sin 143 have only second half of verse one as refrain: Ἐνδόξως γὰρ δεδόχασται.	

Chart C - 3

TYPICA H and P

Δόξα καὶ μίαν περισσὴν

Zeph 3,8-15

If the baptisms are finished by this time, all the other readings of the OT are omitted save Daniel.

(Note: Dmitrievskij also mentions this prescription in connection with *Dres.*)

I Kings 17,8-24

Is 61,10 - 62,5

Gen 22,1-18

Prokeimenon : Ps. 92,1a

Stichoi : 1) *ibid.* v. 1b

2) *ibid.* v. 1c

Is 61,1-10

2 Kings 4,8-37

Is 63,11 - 64,4

Jer 31,31-34

Dan 3,1-51

Ode of Daniel :

Chanter : Dan 3,57a

People : *ibid.*, 57b

The entire ode is chanted with verse 57b as refrain. It is sung, however, only until the patriarch arrives with the newly baptized. During the ode, the priests come down from the throne and change to white sticharia.

Prophetologia

V and d2 do not have the refrain after every verse.

Zeph 3,8-15

There is no reference to this in the Prophetologia.

I Kings 17,8-24

Is 61,10-62,5

Sin 8 : Prokeimenon Ps 46,7

Stichos : v. 1

Gen 22,1-18

None of the Prophetologia indicate a Prokeimenon in this place. Sin 8 has this same Prokeimenon, however, after the *third* reading, while R has it before the 13th.

Is 61,1-10

2 Kings 4,8-37

Is 63,11 - 64,4

Jer 31,31-34

Bib. Nat. Grec 273 (Rahlfs, p. 135) along with S 143 and R add verses 52-56 to this reading.

Ode of Daniel :

Chanter : Dan 3,57a

People : *ibid.*, 57b

The refrain is repeated only after every two verses, for the most part.

V, d2, Sin 9, 242 : Both priests and deacons come down to change.

Note : The Prophetologia do not describe the baptismal service nor the conferring of myron which follows.

Tiflis Synaxarion

When the cantors begin the canticle, the priests leave the sanctuary and go to the diaconikon and change to white vestments. Afterwards they make the entrance with the patriarch and the newly-baptized.

Chart C - 4

TYPICA H and P	DRES	Grottaferrata Γ β 1	PROPHETOLOGIA	Tiflis Synaxarion
As the patriarch confers Myron,	After the baptism, the patriarch and the newly baptized go to St. Peter's, where he confers Myron. This is described in more detail than in H and P.	He then goes to St. Peter's where he confers Myron. This is described in some detail.		
the leader of the first choir sings: "Ὅσοι εἰς Χριστὸν (Gal 3,27) P = Ps 92 is sung in its entirety with the end of this verse as a refrain: Χριστὸν ἐνεδύσασθε, Ἀλληλούια.	Gal 3,27 is sung. Dmitrievskij does not describe the chant in detail. The patriarch washes his hands puts on the omophorion, then begins the "order of usual Sunday Vespers of the first tone." In place of Θεοτόκε παρθένε, χαῖρε there is sung Τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος. After the Prokeimenon all the priest celebrants (ἄρχοντες) do reverence to the patriarch and change to white vestments.	The chanters sing Gal 3,27. No mention is made of the accompanying psalm verses.		
When the patriarch goes with the newly baptized εἰς τὴν β' εἰσοδὸν, the leader of the second choir chants: Ps 31,1 with the Stichos: <i>ibid.</i> , v. 2. (The Prophetologia refer to this chant as a Prokeimenon.)	The leader of the second choir μετὰ καμισίου καὶ φελωνίου walking before the patriarch sings Ps 31,1 with Stichoi (not specified by Dmitrievskij). The other chanters who accompany him sing along.	The patriarch singing along with the orphans the Μακάριοι ὧν ἀρέθθησαν (Ps 31,1) comes with the newly baptized εἰς εἰσοδὸν for the Liturgy. (Grott. Γ β 1 ends here).	V: The chanter accompanying the newly baptized enters, coming from St. Peter's, singing the Prokeimenon: Ps 31,1. (cf. text for other manuscripts)	At the time of the entrance into the sanctuary, the cantors sing: Ps 31,1.

Chart C - 5

TYPICA H and P

When the patriarch enters the chanter sings :
Stichos 2 : Ps 31, 5cd. When they arrive near the ambo the chanter in the ambo descends and the chanter of Ps 31 removes his phelonion and ascends the ambo to continue the psalm.

When the patriarch comes εἰς τοὺς μέσους πυλῶνας he prostrates three times (P does not have "three times") then enters.

12 bishops with omophoria enter with the patriarch into the sanctuary (he by the central doors, they by the side ones).
They all go up to the throne. The others come into the sanctuary after the dismissal following the Gospel.
(This last entry is not in P).

When the patriarch has entered the sanctuary, the archdeacon gives a sign to the cantor, who then sings the perisse and descends.

There is no prayer, and the Antiphons are not sung.

Instead of the Trisagion there is sung Gal 3,27.

There is no Prokeimenon.

Rom 6,3-11

DRES

The subdeacon domesticos spreads a rug on the threshold of the royal doors. The patriarch prostrates three times upon it. He then blesses with the candle and reads the prayer of the entrance. He enters with the Gospel and *μανουαλίων τῶν φωτισμάτων*.

Substantially the same information is given here.

The archdeacon makes a sign to the chanter on the ambo who then begins Gal 3,27.

Prophetologia

V: The chanter sings the second Stichos (Ps 31, v. 5c) εἰς τὰς ἀργύρας πύλας.
At the ambo he sings the third Stichos (*ibid.*, v. 5d). He then goes up to the ambo and the other chanter comes down.

V and d2:
ὅτε ἀποφύρει ὁ ψάλτης τὴν περὶ σὴν, εἰσοδέει ὁ πατριάρχης βουβιστὶ μετὰ τοῦ εὐαγγελίου καὶ μανουαλίων γ' (μετὰ καὶ τῶν βαπτισάντων διακόνων καὶ τῶν νεοφωτιστῶν λευχειμονούντων).
The words between parentheses are added by V.

Sin 7 and F indicate the prayer of the Trisagion. V, d2, Sin 9 and 247: The chanters go to the ambo and sing Gal 3,27.

Only Sin 7 indicates a Prokeimenon: Ps 26,1b; Stichos: *ibid.*, v. 1c

Rom 6,3-11

Tiflis Synaxarion

When the patriarch arrives at the great doors, he genuflects and Ps 31,5c is sung.
After the entrance all takes place as was written above.

Chart C - 6

TYPICA H and P	DRES	Prophetologia	Constantine Porphyrogenitus' <i>Book of Ceremonies</i> (Vogt, Texte I, pp. 171-7)	Pseudo-Kodinos' <i>Traité des offices</i> (Verpeaux, pp. 231-32)
In place of the Alleluia there is sung: Ps 81,8 with these Stichoi: 1) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 1 2) <i>ibid.</i> , vv. 2-3 3) <i>ibid.</i> , vv. 5-7	Dmitrievskij does not specify the Stichoi. "As the psalm is being sung, all stand at their places. Afterwards they sit down. At this time, the τοῦ σκευοφυλακίου χαρτουλάριοι standing near the Holy Table take away the plain covering which lies on top of it, thus revealing the golden one underneath."	V, d2, F: The third Stichos consists of Ps 81, vv. 4-7. V, d2, S9 and 245, R add: Verse 8 is repeated as perisse. Sin 9 and 247 add: "As this is being sung, the white cloth spread on the Holy Table is taken away by the deacons. It was handed down by the holy Fathers that this be done as a symbol of the stone which was rolled away from the door of the tomb, which was the beginning of life."	(The emperor assists at the Liturgy in the church of Φάρος.) "As the chanter is about to begin Ps 81,8 the cubicularii hold the veils which are on the outside of the golden veil, and when the psalm is begun, they immediately draw aside with one movement the outer veils and the golden ones alone remain."	(The emperor assists at the Liturgy from within the palace in some room which he himself chooses.) "During Ps. 81,8 three readers bring laurel leaves from the church and spread them before the emperor. Pages take some of these and bring them to the triklinon."
Mt 28,1-20 Cherubikon The ancient Koinonikon: Ps 148,1 The new: Ἐξηγέρθη... (poetic composition inspired by Ps 77,65)	not mentionned by Dmitrievskij The patriarch is accompanied to his residence by three deacons with candles. The Troparion τοῦ λίθου σφραγισθέντος is sung on the way.	Mt 28,1-20 only specified by L 190 Only the new Koinonikon is given.		
If there are no baptisms, Gal 3,27 is sung immediately after the Daniel canticle. Ps 31,1 is sung as the Prokeimenon, and there is only one Stichos.				
ORTHROS 1st Antiphon: Pss 3, 62, 133 3 Antiphons of the Ἀνώμου. Two Stichoi before the entrance of the cantors, there is sung three times in the narthex the Troparion: Συγκλονουμένης τῆς κτίσεως... Entrance of chanters	Dmitrievskij does not treat of Orthros proper.	The only reference to Orthros in the Prophetologia is in F which indicates the Troparion for Ps 50.	For the beginning of Orthros in the Tiflis Synaxarion, cf. the text.	For Orthros in Pseudo-Kodinos cf. the text.

Chart C - 7

TYPICA H and P

Canticle of Daniel (3,57-88)
Psalm 50 with the troparion :
Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ...
(similar to one sung at
Sunday Orthros after the
Great Doxology, but shorter
and with a different ending.)

There are no further indica-
tions for Easter day, but the
ordinary festal Orthros would
have concluded with the fol-
lowing elements :

Pss 148, 149, 150 (cf. Mateos,
Typicon, I, p. XXIII)
Great Doxology
Trisagion
Gospel reading
Litanies
Dismissal

After Orthros, there is a Pro-
anagnosis from the Apostle.

DRES

Prophetologia

F :
Psalm 50 with the Troparion :
Σήμερον σωτηρία τῷ κόσμῳ...
(the one in current use
after the Great Doxology
of Orthros on Sundays)

(The following is from the
Greek text provided by Dmit-
rievskij, *Drevniešie*, pp. 165-67)

After Orthros, the patriarch
goes to the patriarchate. He
incenses and exchanges the
kiss of peace in the small se-
creton with those of the cubi-
bulum, and in the great se-
creton with 12 deacons, 12
functionaries of the secreton,
the metropolitans, archbishops,
and 12 priests. After the kiss
of peace, each group goes to
stand in its proper place and
the chartophylax reads 'Ανασ-
τάσεως ἡμέρα (probably the
Sermon of Gregory of Nazian-
zus for Easter. cf. MG 35,
395-402).

The patriarch sends word to
the palace that the Liturgy
is about to begin.

After the reading all stand
to sing Εἰς πολλὰ ἔτη to the
patriarch then sit again. The
reader receives a coin from
the patriarch.

The Liturgy is begun by the
δευτερεύοντες.

Chart C - 8

TYPICA H and P

DRES

Prophetologia

LITURGY

Antiphons

1) Ps 65 with two alternating refrains :

Not described by dmitrievskij

V, d2, and F alone treat of the Liturgy.

Antiphons — same material as in the Typica save that the Stichoi are specified as follows :

Ταῖς πρεσβεῖαις τῆς Θεοτόκου...

1) 1 - Ps 65, v. 1b *Only the first refrain is indicated.*

2 - *ibid.*, v. 2

3 - *ibid.*, v. 3

4 - *ibid.*, v. 4

Ταῖς πρεσβεῖαις τῶν Ἀγίων σου...

2) Ps 66 with refrain :

Σῶσον ἡμᾶς... ὁ ἀναστάς...

Ὁ Μονογενής...

2) 1 - Ps 66, v. 2a

2 - *ibid.*, v. 2b

3 - *ibid.*, v. 3

4 - *ibid.*, v. 4

3) Ps 67 with refrain :

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη...

(The following based on the Greek text provided by Dmitrievskij, *Drev.*, pg. 168)

The patriarch goes to meet the emperor in the narthex. The emperor greets the patriarch and kisses the Gospel. Hand in hand (λαβόμενοι τῆς χειρὸς ἀλλήλων) they go to Royal doors.

3) 1 - Ps 67, v. 2a

2 - *ibid.*, v. 2b

3 - *ibid.*, v. 3ab

4 - *ibid.*, v. 3c-4a

εἰσοδεύει, τὸν στίχον τοῦτον λέγων: Ps 67,27

Ps 67,27

Metropolitans in the sanctuary meet the emperor at the Holy doors. He enters and venerates various sacred objects. His φήμη is sung by the δευτερέων. The emperor places a purse on the altar, then goes with the patriarch to the κουκλίον. He incenses. He then goes to the mitatorion and "signs with a torch where the holy nails are kept." The patriarch returns to the sanctuary. A signal is given to the chanters who begin Δόξα...

Kontakion : Εἰ καὶ πρὸς τάφον κατῆλθες...

V : Ps 67,27

Χριστὸς ἀνέστη

Δόξα καὶ νῦν...

V, d2 : Kontakion : Εἰ καὶ ἐν τάφῳ...

F : Σήμερον σωτηρία ὡς at Sunday Orthros.

Chart C - 9

TYPICA H and P	DRES	Prophetologia	
Instead of the Trisagion, there is sung: Gal 3,27.	Immediately, instead of the Trisagion, there is sung: Gal 3,27.	Gal 3,27	
Prokeimenon: Ps. 117,24 Stichoi: 1) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 1 2) <i>ibid.</i> , v. 2	Dmitrievskij does not treat of this section.	same as H-P	
Acts 1,1-8		Acts 1,1-8	
Alleluia: Stichoi: 1) Ps 101,14 2) <i>ibid.</i> , vv. 20b-21		Alleluia: Stichoi: 1) Ps 101,14 2) <i>ibid.</i> , vv. 20b-21	
TYPICON H	TYPICON P	DRES	Prophetologia V
Jn 1,1-17 read first in Latin by a deacon	Jn 1,1-17 read first by deacon in Latin	Jn 1,1-17 read first by deacon in Latin	Jn 1,1-17 read first by deacon in Latin
	Archdeacon: Σοφία	Latin deacon: Σοφία	Archdeacon: Ἐν σοφία πρόσχωμεν.
εἰρηνεύει ὁ πατριάρχης	Patriarch: Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν... 'Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην...	Patriarch: Εἰρήνη πᾶσιν... 'Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην...	Patriarch: Εἰρήνη πᾶσι... 'Ἐκ τοῦ κατὰ Ἰωάννην...
Deacon: Σοφία, πρόσχωμεν	Archdeacon: Σοφία, πρόσχωμεν	Archdeacon: Σοφία, πρόσχωμεν	Archdeacon: Ἐν σοφία πρόσχωμεν.
The patriarch reads the Gospel from the throne.	The patriarch reads the Gospel from the throne.	The patriarch reads the Gospel from the throne facing the people.	The patriarch reads the Gospel from the throne.
The deacon reads it from the ambo τρανότερον.	The Greek deacon from the ambo ἐκφωνεῖ κράζων τὰ λεγόμενα ὑπὸ τοῦ πατριάρχου...	The sakkelarios or some other reads it from the ambo.	The deacon reads it from the ambo.
At the end: Archdeacon: Σοφία, ὁρθοί	not in P	At the end, the Archdeacon exclaims: Σοφία, ὁρθοί He then descends from the ambo.	
TYPICA H and P	DRES	PROPHETOLOGIA	
The Cherubikon is sung three times.	not described by Dmitrievskij.	not mentioned	
The Koinonikon: Σῶμα Χριστοῦ		same as H-P	

CHART D

The Beginning of Orthros in the Studite Documents

Sin 150	Hypotyposis-Vatop 322	MS 380	Hypotyposis-Vat Gr 2029 and Diatyposis Iv 754	Athens 788	Crypt 404	Mess Gr 115 Tor 216 Vat Gr 1877	Vat Gr 1609
Εὐλογημένη ἡ Βασι- λεία...	Δόξα τῇ Ἀγίᾳ...	Slava svjatei...	—	Δόξα τῇ Ἀγίᾳ...	Εὐλογημένη ἡ Βασιλεία	—	Δόξα τῇ Ἀγίᾳ...
Pater, Synapte, 1st Orthros prayer	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
X. A., once by priest and once by assist- ants	—	—	—	X. A. once by priest and once by assistants	X. A. thrice by hi- gumen, thrice by different groups of the brethren	—	—
—	—	—	—	Ps. 117, first three Stichoi	Ps. 117, Stichoi	—	—
X.A. by priest and people as they enter	X. A. by the priest and the people as they enter	Khristos voskrese... by the assistants as they enter.	entrance in silence	Doors opened at third Stichos	Doors opened, Canon is begun	entrance in silence	entrance in silence
—	—	—	—	All go just beyond the Royal Doors for fourth Stichos...	—	—	—
—	—	—	—	and to the Holy doors for the fifth Stichos	—	—	—
—	X.A. thrice by people	Khristos voskrese... thrice by assistants.	X. A. thrice by priest and thrice by people	—	—	X. A. thrice by priest and thrice by people	X. A. thrice by priest and thrice by people
Ps 117, Stichoi	Ps. 117, Stichoi	Ps 117, Stichoi	Ps. 117, Stichoi	—	—	Ps. 117, Stichoi	Ps. 117, Stichoi
—	—	—	—	Synapte	—	Synapte	Synapte

INDEX OF MANUSCRIPTS

- ARM B 8, 10, 68, 71, 74, 76, 92, 93, 296, Chart A3
 ARM Er 8, 25, 29 f., 57, 62, 68, 76, 92, 104, 291, Chart A1,2,4
 ARM J 8, 23, 24, 25, 29 f., 57, 62, 65, 68, 74, 75, 76, 92, 294, Chart A
 ARM P 8, 23, 29 f., 57, 62, 65, 68, 71, 74, 75, 76, 92, Chart A1
 Ath 788 30, 142, 168, 169, 170, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 282, 284, 285, 287, 290
 Ath 2409 86
 Ath 2622 86
 Bibl Nat Coislin Gr 38 276
 Bibl Nat Goislin Gr 402 234, 235, 245, *passim* throughout Section III, 2
 Bibl Nat Gr 242 263, 265, 268, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Bibl Nat Gr 246 265 f.
 Bibl Nat Gr 260 265 f.
 Bibl Nat Gr 261 264 f.
 Bibl Nat Gr 263 265 f.
 Bibl Nat Gr 402 237, 238, 270, 274, 286
 British Museum Add 14528 60
 Casanatensis G IV 14 179
 Crypt Γ β I 117, 132 f., 153, Chart C2,4
 Crypt 210 180, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Crypt 291 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Crypt 292 172, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Crypt 300 172, 207, 208, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 246, 275, 279, 281
 Crypt 378 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Crypt 401 *cf.* Jena
 Crypt 404 179, 182, 195, 196, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 278, 281, 290
 Crypt 408 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Crypt 486 180, 195, 208, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 279, 281
 Dres 56, 114 f., 121, 122 f., 125 f., 129, 132 f., 137 f., 149, 153, 161, Chart C
 GEORG K 10 f., 25 f., 31, 34 f., 57, 65, 83
 GEORG L 10 f., 25 f., 31, 33 f., 38, 39, 66, 68, 75, 83, 99, Chart A
 GEORG P 10 f., 25 f., 31, 34 f., 57, 59, 65, Chart A
 GEORG S 10 f., 15, 25 f., 31, 34 f., 59, 62, 65, 66, 71, 75, 82, 86, 99, 146, 229, 238, Chart A
 GEORG Sabba 10 f., 27 f., 36 f., 94, 146, 230, 238, 240, 244, 270, 274, 275, 280, 292, Chart A
 HS 15 98, 234 f., 269, 271, 272, 275, 290
 HS 43 12 f., 27, 30, 32, 35, 37 f., 48 f., 52 f., 55 f., 59, 61 f., 66 f., 71, 72, 76 f., 92, 94 f., 102 f., 121, 122, 140, 149, 184, 198, 208, 235 f., 256, 269, 271 f., 277, 279, 280, 284 f., 294 f., Charts A, B
 HS 67 232, 233, 235 f.
 Ivir 754 30, 165 f., *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 278, 287. *Cf.* also Diatyposis
 Jena 178, 179, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 278

- Lavra Γ 67 172 f., 208, 215, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Lavra Γ 72 172 f., 208, 215, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Lavra Γ 99 234 f.
 Leningrad 789 174, 179
 Mark Gr II 117 249 f., 272
 Mark Gr II 118 249 f., 275
 Mess Gr 25 179
 Mess Gr 110 176, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Mess Gr 115 98, 176, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 275, 278, 285, 290, 291, 293
 Mess Gr 127 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Mess Gr 129 180, 206, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Mess Gr 142 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Moscow Academy Praxapostolos 115, 124
 MS 380 167, 195, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 290
 Panteleimon 68 127
 Panteleimon 252 124
 Patmos 218 259 f., 275
 Patmos 219 259 f.
 Patmos 220 259 f., 275
 Patmos 221 259 f.
 Patmos 222 259 f.
 Patmos 226 259 f.
 Patmos 227 260 f., 275
 Patmos 612 260 f.
 Prophetologion Δ 2 116, 124, 161, Chart C
 Prophetologion d2 115, 137, 149, Chart C
 Prophetologion F 116, 137, 140, 149, 222, Chart C
 Prophetologion R 116, 137, Chart C
 Prophetologion S 98 115, Chart C
 Prophetologion S 143 115, Chart C
 Prophetologion S 247 115, Chart C
 Prophetologion Sin 9 115, 124, 137, 138, Chart C
 Prophetologion Sin 14 115, 124, 139, 152, Chart C
 Sabba 247 137, 138
 Sabba 311 235 f., 271
 Sabba 312 234 f.
 Sabba 612 237, 238, 270, 274, 286
 Sabba 628 235 f.
 Sabba 1103 271
 St. Petersburg 102 124, 152
 St. Petersburg Ecclesiastical Academy 1136 167
 Shio 263, 265 f., 275
 Sin 150 86, 164, 165, 195, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 278, 281, 285, 289, 290
 Sin 734-35 246, 250 f.
 Sin 736 246, 250 f., 274, 275, 279, 281
 Sin 742 246, 250 f., 274
 Sin 743 274
 Sin 746 249 f.
 Sin 751 281
 Sin 754 247, 250 f., 269 f.
 Sin 760 246, 250 f.
 Sin 775 263, 265 f.
 Sin 973 86, 87
 Sin 1094 233, 235 f., 269, 272
 Sin 1095 233, 235 f., 269
 Sin 1096 233, 235 f., 270, 272, 274, 275, 288
 Sin 1097 248, 250 f., 269, 271, 272, 281
 Sin 1098 248, 250 f., 269, 270, 272, 276
 Sin 1101 248, 250 f., 271
 Sin 1108 249 f., 271
 Sin 1109 249 f.
 Sin 1216 248, 250 f.
 Sin 1233 275
 Sin 1241 247, 250 f., 274, 275
 Sin 1242 247, 250 f., 275
 Sin 1244 248, 250 f.
 Sin 1245 249 f.
 in 1614 249 f., 269, 288
 SOPH H 84, 113, 114, 115, 121, 124, 126, 129, 132 f., 137, 138, 140 f., 148 f., 284, Chart C. Cf. also Typicon of Hagia Sophia
 SOPH P 113, 114, 115, 121, 124, 126, 129, 132 f., 138, 140 f., 148 f., 284, Chart C. Cf. also Typicon of Hagia Sophia
 Tif 222 115, 135 f., 141 f., 153, 169 f., *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 282, 284, 285, Chart C1, 2, 3, 4, 5

- Tor 216 179, 195, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 278, 285, 287, 290, 293
 Vat Barb Gr 350 (III 102) 77, 147, 180, 203
 Vat Barb Gr 383 (III 69) 77, 147, 180, 203
 Vat Barb Gr 484 176, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Vat Gr 771 175, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Vat Gr 782 263, 265 f., 274
 Vat Gr 785 264 f.
 Vat Gr 788 180, 205, 206, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Vat Gr 1069 177, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Vat Gr 1517 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 285
 Vat Gr 1537 181, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Vat Gr 1877 98, 177, 195, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 275, 278, 285, 290, 291, 293
 Vat Gr 211 175
 Vat Gr 2029 30, 165 f., 195, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 287, cf. also Hypotyposis
 Vat Pal Gr 101 265, 266 f., 274
 Vat Pius II Gr 30 175, 208, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 279
 Vat Reg Gr 58-59 229, 262 f., 269, 272
 Vat Syr 21 31, 32, 54 f., 58, 123
 Vatop 322 30, 165 f., 195, 208, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 278, 293. Cf. also Hypotyposis
 Vatop 1488 173 f., 215, 216, *passim* throughout Section III, 1
 Vind Theol Gr 181 265 f.

BIBLICAL INDEX

Gen 1	130, 131	17,8-24	Charts A2, C3
1,1-13	62, 128, 129, 132	18,30-39	128
1-3	61		
1,1-3,24	60, 61, 286, Chart A2	2 Kings 2,1-22	60, Chart A2
22	128, 131	2,4-14	128
22,1-5	128, Chart C1	2,19-22	128
22,1-19	60, 61, Charts A1, C3	4	128
32,2-11	128	4,8-37	Charts A2, C3
		5,9-14	128
Ex 2,5-10	128	Pss 1-8	36, 37, 229, Chart A1
12	130, 131	Ps 1	36
12,1-11	Chart C2	3	Chart C6
12,1-24	Chart A2	Pss 9-20	229, Chart A2
12,1-14,26	60, 61	Ps 9	36, 64, 84, 87
13,17-15,2	Chart A2	9,33	Chart B2
13,20-14,32	Chart C2	11,2	Chart B2
13-15	130-131	11,6	34, Chart B2
14,15-29	128	11,65	139
14,25-15,21	60, 61, 62, 63, 71	12	25
15,1-18	46, 187, 188, 200	15,1-3,10	83
15,1-21	229, 235, 237, 244, 250, 253, 257, 266, 268, 269, 275, 286	17	87
		23	201, 244, 271, 274, 276
15,22-16,1	128	23,7	251, 254, 258
37,1-14	128	23,7-8	241, 251
		23,9	241
Num 24,2b-18	129	23,9-10	201, 227, 241
		24,7-10	Chart A4
Josh 1	131	26	62, 137
1,1-19	Chart A2	26,1	186, 277, 282, 284, 285, Charts A2; C2,5
3,7-14	128		Chart C2
5	130	26,3	67, Chart A3
5,10-12	127	29,2	134, 135, 137, 189, 206
5,10-15	Chart C2	31	112, 151, 188, 193, 225, 277, 282, 284, Chart C4,6
11,5b-15a	127	31,1	188, Chart C4
Judg 6,36-40	128		188, Chart C4
1 Kings 2	131	31,2	
17	130	32,5	

BIBLICAL INDEX

313

Ps 43,5	Chart B2	85	124, 126, 127, 152, Chart C1
43,23	84		Chart B1
43,24	Chart B1	85,8,14	34
43,24-25	Chart A3	86	192
43,27	82, Chart B2	90	134
46,1,7	Chart C3	92	235, 236, 250, 252, 253, 262, 266, 268, 269, 275, 277, 280, 283, 284, Charts A2,4; C2,3
50	79, 95, 97, 104, 140, 158, 180, 181, 192, 196, 202, 203, 207, 210, 227, 238, 289, 290, 291, 296, 299, Charts B3, C7	92,1	Chart A2
		94,6	34
		95	34
62	Chart C6	95,1	34
64	34, 39, 66, Chart A2,3,4	95,1,10	Chart B2
		96	34
64,5	99, Chart A4	97	34
65	Chart C8	99	34
65,1	Chart A3	101	75
65,1-2	189	101,2	Charts A3, B1
65,1-4	160, Chart C1	101,14	67, 84, 206, Charts A3,4; B1, C9
65,4	189, 269, 277, 280, 284, Chart A3	101,20	206, Chart C9
		101,21	Chart C9
66	Chart C8	101,20-22	Chart A4
66,2-4	160	103	125, 152, 157, Chart A1
67	212, 213, 215, 226, 227, 244, 261, 262, 267, 268, 271, 272, 278, 290, 291, 300, Charts B2, C8	112	12, 25, 30, 31, 34, 35, 36, 39, 53, 57, 58, 229, 286, 294, 299, Chart A
			87
67,2	141, 211, 212, 240, 243, 251, 273	115	87
		116	87
67,2-4	159, 160, 161, Chart A4	116,12	Chart A4
67,3	211, 212		
67,3-4	240, 251, 273	117	59, 75, 84, 87, 91, 142, 149, 198, 199, 221, 226, 244, 258, 262, 267, 268, 271, 275, 278, 281, 289, 290, 291, 300, Chart A3
67,27	148		198, 251, 267, Chart C9
77,65	68		Chart C9
79,3	Charts A3, B2		198
81	117, 138, Chart C6	117,1	94, 126, 140, 198, 240, Charts B2; C6
81,1	157, 189, 266, Chart A2,3		290, Chart B1
		117,2	253
81,2	157, 189, 206, 266	117,4	252
81,3	157	117,19	
81,4	189, 266		
81,5	157, 206		
81,6	157, 189		
81,8	59, 137, 138, 139, 152, 157, 189, 234, 237, 287, 297, Chart A3,4	117,20	
		117,21	
81,11	206	117,23	

Psa 117,24	148, 160, 198, 199, 240, 243, 251, 254, 258, 267, 271, Charts A2,3,4; B1; C9; D	30 33,2-10 50 60 60,1 60,1-13 60,1-16 60,1-22 61,1-9 61,1-10 61,10-62,5	131 82 132 130, 131 35, 39, 49 62 128, Chart C2 60, Chart A2 131, Chart A2 Chart C3 130, 131, Charts A2, C3 Charts A2, C3 131
117,25-28	199	60,1-13	62
117,26	Chart B1	60,1-16	128, Chart C2
117,27-29	198, 240, 251, 253, 267	60,1-22	60, Chart A2
118	87	61,1-9	131, Chart A2
129	25	61,1-10	Chart C3
133	Chart C6	61,10-62,5	130, 131, Charts A2, C3
133,2-3	Chart B3	63,11-64,4	Charts A2, C3
134	87	63-64	131
135	87		
136	87, Chart A3		
140	17, 25, 26, 35, 52, 102, 124, 125, 126, 127, 152, 157, 175, 180, 183, 200, 225, 236, 241, 252, 255, 256, 262, 270, 277, 282, 283, 284, 294, 295, Charts A1, C1	Jer 31 31,31-34	131 127, 186, Charts A2, C3
144,13	Chart B1,2	Bar 3,36-4,4	129
147	34, 39, 53, 59, Chart A2	Ezek 37 37,1-14	131 61, Chart A2
147,2	67, Chart A3,4	Dan 2,31-45	129
148-150	94, 96, 97, 98, 211 f., 216, 217, 242, 243, 245, 256, 257, 261, 267, 272, 275, 282, 291, 300, Chart C7	3 3,1-51 3,1-90 3,23-4,3 3,52-56 3,57-88	131 130, 286, Chart C3 60, 61, 62, 63, 65, Charts A2, C3 60 128 140, 158, 186, 187, 235, 237, 244, 250, 253, 257, 266, 268, 269, 275, 282, 284, 287, Chart C7
148,1	139, Chart C6	Hos 5,13-6,3	Chart A4
149	34	Jon 1,1-4,11	60, 130, 131, 286, Charts A2, C2
150	39, 75, 84, 85, 86, Chart A2	Mic 4,6-53	129
150,1	Chart A3	Zeph	130
150,1-2	Chart B1	3,6-13 3,8-15	Chart A4 Charts A2, C3
Job 21,29-33	Chart A4		
38	131		
38,1-39,35	Chart A2		
Wis	78		
2,12-13	82		
Is	78		
1,16-20	128	Mt 27,62-68	82, Chart B2
9,5-6	129	28	151
11,1-10	129	28,1-20	60, 67, 112, 139,

Mt	Charts A3, C6	21,14-25	Chart B1
28,6	95		
28,9	95	Acts	99, 109, 158
28,19	112	1,1-8	149, Chart C9
		1,1-14	Chart A4
Mk 14,12-26	70		
15,42-16,8	Chart A4	Rom 6,3-11	67, 137, Charts A3 C5
16,1-8	89, 104, 203, Chart B2		
16,1-18	93	I Cor 11,23-32	70
		15,1-11	137
Jn 1	258, 274	15,1-26	60
1,1-17	Chart C9	2 Cor 15,1-11	67, Chart A3
1,1-4,11	60		
19,38-20,18	68, Chart A3	Gal 3,27	66, 134, 137, 149, 158, 189, 221, 222, 237, Charts A3,4; C4,5,6,9
20,1-17	Chart A4		
20,1-18	75, 89, 104, Chart A3, B1		

GENERAL INDEX

- Abel, F. M. 11
 Abo of Tiflis 11
 Acts, Book of read during Paschal-tide 99, 109, 149
 Albertus Aquensis 45
 Alexis, Patriarch of Constantinople 167
 Altaner, B. 109
 Anastasis of Jerusalem 1, 15, 16, 19, 21, 22 f., 30, 67, 74, 79, 88, 89, 91, 94, 102, 103, 146, 230, 232, 285, 286, 294, 300
 Andrew of Jerusalem 11
 Annunciation 150
 Anrich, G. 80
 Anthony II, Patriarch of Constantinople 136
 Antoniadès, M. 132, 133
 Antonin (Kasputin), Archimandrite 263
 Apostolic Constitutions 24
 Apparition of St. Michael on Monte Gargano 164
 Arethas of Caesarea 40 f.
 Armenian Lectionary 8 f., 15, 21 f., 29 f., 34, 38, 39, 48, 52 f., 56, 57, 59 f., 65 f., 71, 73, 74, 75, 76, 82, 92, 93, 94, 99, 101, 103, 104, 105, 130, 294 f., Chart A
 Arranz, M. 31, 85, 87, 176 f., 178, 179, 188, 201, 204, 207, 218
 Arsenios and John, Georgian monks 264
 Assemani, S. E. 54
 Athanasius of Athos 166 f., 170, 173
 Avdulovskij, P. 52
 Baldricus 45
 Baldwin of Flanders 18, 44, 45, 48
 Baptism at Paschal Vigil 65, 66, 132 f., 294, Chart A2,3
 Baptisteries of Hagia Sophia 132-133
 Bartholomew of Rossano 178
 Bartholomew of Semeri 177, 180
 Basil the Scribe 13, 16
 Basilica of Jerusalem 22 f., 30, 33, 35, 294
 Bastiaensen, A. 66, 67, 72, 99
 Baümer, S. 158
 Baumstark, A. 7, 12, 14, 60, 61, 113, 119, 120, 163, 166, 169, 233, 234, 279
 Benešević, V. 233, 247, 248, 249, 263
 Benevento 117
 Bernardus Monachus 40 f.
 Bilabel, S. 80
 Blasios II of Grottaferrata 179
 Bludau, A. 24
 Bongars, J. 19
 Botte, B. 60, 130
 Brouskos, Chrysanthos 41
 Burkitt, F. 59, 60
 Canon of Easter Sunday 39, 53, 91, 95, 142, 159, 176, 202 f., 207, 209, 241, 242, 251, 255, 258, 267, 268, 278, 279, 289, 292
 Cantus manuum lotionis 67, 99
 Cantus sanctificationum 99
 Capelle, B. 11, 26, 33
 Casole, Monastery of St. Nicholas of 77, 179. Cf. also Tor 216
 "Chapters of Mark" in Sabba Typicon 264
 Cheesefare Sunday 113
 Chilandar monastery 169
 Chosroes 7
 Chrysostom, St. John 109-111, 124, 160, 192, 238, 266
 Chrysostom, monk of Lavra 166
 Claramontanum Aquensis, Council 45

GENERAL INDEX

317

- Clark, K. 246, 247, 248, 249, 263
 Codices Vat Gr III 175, 180, 263, 303
 Codices Vat Gr 1485-1744 181, 182
 Completiones 99
 Constantine and Helen 120
 Constantine VII Porphyrogenitus, Emperor of Constantinople 113; Livre des cérémonies 117, 135, 138, 144 f., 148, 151, Chart C6
 Constitutiones Apostolorum 288
 Conybeare, F. 8, 63
 Council in Trullo 15, 61
 Cursus of readings for Paschal Vigil 37, 52, 59-62, 127-132, 157, 158, 186, 187, 237, 250, 266, 294, Chart A2
 Cyril of Jerusalem 112
 Cyril and Methodius, SS. 174
 Damascene, John 163
 Daniel, Russian Higumen 13, 16, 19, 20, 27, 28, 43 f., 59, 100, 146, 194, 230, 240
 David III, King of Georgia 263
 Dedication of the Anastasis, Feast of 174
 Delehay, H. 113
 Devos, P. 7, 8
 Diatyposis 30, 115, 136, 165 f., 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 195, 280, 282, 283, 287, 288, 289. Cf. also Ivir 754
 Didascalia 24
 Dionysiou monastery, Typicon of 228
 Dmitrievskij, A. 12 f., 50, 77, 88, 95, 100, 101, 114, 119, 120, 121, 123, 124, 125, 127, 134, 140, 144, 150, 164 f., 177, 179, 201, 218, 232 f., 238, 239, 247 f., 254, 264 f.
 Dormition, Monastery of in Constantinople 167, 212
 Ducange, C. 122
 Easter Sunday, Offices of:
 Cathedral Vigil 72-93, 103, 104, 296, Chart A3
 Orthros 94-99, 104-105, 140 f., 152, 153, 159, 160, 195 f., 226 f., 239 f., 244, 245, 250 f., 258, 260, 261, 266 f., 289 f., 296 f., Chart A3
 Liturgy of St. John Chrysostom 99, 101, 105, 148 f., 152, 153, 160, 161, 221 f., 228, 243 f., 259, 267, 268, 273, 278, 279, 293, 297, Chart A4
 Easter week, weekdays in 77 f., Chart B2
 Ebersolt, J. 133, 135, 144
 Egeria 7, 8, 21 f., 29 f., 36, 52, 57, 58, 65, 66, 67 f., 72 f., 76, 79 f., 92, 93, 99, 101, 104, 112, 294 f., Charts A,B
 Ehrhard, A. 15, 61
 Eleona 23
 Emmanuel, Chorbishop of Rhodes 177
 Epakouston 50, 78, 80 f.
 Epiphany 128 f.
 Eulogios of Edessa 7
 Eusebius of Caesaria 25
 Eustratiades, S. 166, 172, 173, 234
 Euthymios of Iviron 169, 170
 Evangelii prokeimenon 75, 81, 84, 104
 Evergetes, Typicon of 142, 168, 169, 170, 298. Cf. also Ath 788
 Exegertikon 221
 Follieri, H. 184, 187, 303
 Fulcherius of Chartres 18, 42 f., 58
 Gala, Typicon of Monastery of 176, 177
 Gardthausen, V. 164, 233, 246, 247, 248, 249, 263
 Garitte, G. 11
 Gastoué, A. 263 f.
 Genoese of Galata 147
 George of Jerusalem 13
 George, scribe 264
 Georgian Lectionary 10 f., 17, 21 f., 25 f., 30, 31, 33 f., 37, 39, 48, 52 f., 55, 57, 58, 59 f., 63 f., 71, 75, 76, 78, 82 f., 88, 92 f., 97 f., 102 f., 123, 146, 229, 238, 240, 244, 270, 274, 275, 280, 285, 292, 294 f., Charts A,B
 Giovanelli, G. 178
 Golgotha 67, 79, 80
 Good Friday 15, 21, 64, 97, 124

- Gospel read by Patriarch 68, 89, 100, 149, 151, 223, 224, 278, 279, 293
- Gospel read in Latin in Hagia Sophia 150, 223, 224, 278, 279, 293
- Gospel Readings at Orthros in HS 43 77 f.
- Gregory of Antioch, Homily of 191
- Gregory of Nazianzus 113, 114; Paschal homilies 115, 118, 144, 145, 152, 159, 203, 218, 219, 227, 242, 244, 258 f., 267, 278, 297, Chart C7
- Grigoriou monastery, Typicon of 228
- Grottaferrata, Typicon of 142, 164, 178. Cf. also Crypt 404
- Guibert 45
- Hagia Sophia, Typicon of 1, 14, 31, 78, 82, 83, 84, 95 f., 101, 102, 105, *passim* throughout Section II, 127, 134, 165, 171, 183, 186 f., 189, 190, 193, 198, 218, 221, 222, 223, 226, 228, 235, 237, 250, 253, 268, 269, 272, 273, 277 f., 282 f., 293, 295, 297 f.
- Ἁγία Κορυφή 15
- Hagios Pavlos monastery, Typicon of 228
- Hagios Petros, chapel of in Hagia Sophia 118, 125, 127, 133, 134, 135, 152
- Hakim 13, 14
- Hamman, A. 160
- Ἡλίου Βωμόν, Monastery of 169
- Hippolytus of Rome 160
- Historia Gotfridi 45
- Historia Niketa 40 f.
- Høeg, C. and Zuntz, G. 116, 140, 283
- Holy Fire 27, 32, 39 f., 102, 103, 121, 184, 230, 285
- Holy Thursday 50, 69 f., 127
- Holy Saturday 15, 77, 78, 80, 82, 83, 123, 124, 152, 274, Chart B2; Vespers and Liturgy of St. Basil 124 f., 157, 158, 183 f., 235 f., 244, 250, 252, 253, 257, 260, 265, 266, 268 f., 274, 275, 277, 279, 283 f., 294 f., 298, 299, Chart A
- Intermediate Office and meal 158, 190 f., 226, 238, 239, 244, 250, 253, 258, 266, 270, 274, 277, 287 f., 299
- Holy Week, Weekdays of 23, 60, 78, 96, 139, Chart B2
- Horologion, Grottaferrata (1677) 182, 204, 221
- Hypotyposis 30, 115, 165 f., 171, 195, 280, 282, 283, 287 f. Cf. also Vatop 322 and Vat Gr. 2029
- Iconoclast controversy 119, 163
- Isaiah, Depositio of 9
- Isaurian Emperors of Constantinople 163
- Italo-Greek documents 136; *passim* throughout Section III, Part 1; 241, 242, 245, 255, 256, 277 f., 284 f., 290 f., 299
- Iviron, Monastery of 2, 169, 228. (Cf. also "Manuscripts")
- Jacob, A. 285
- Janeras, V. 23, 127
- Jeremias, J. 287
- Jerome, Letter to Praesidius 22
- Jerusalem, Cathedral Typicon of *passim* throughout Section I; 119 f., 127, 130, 146, 151, 152, 184, 193, 210, 229 f., 235, 243, 285, 286, 294 f.
- John, Bishop of Jerusalem 9
- John of Iviron, 170
- John, priest of monastery of St. Panteleimon in Antioch 54
- Joseph, Higuimen of monastery of St. Nicholas of Casole 180
- Justinian 7
- Juvenal of Jerusalem 9
- Karabinov, I. 132, 176, 246, 247, 262, 263
- Kekelidze, K. 10, 115, 123, 135, 143, 169, 170, 171, 189, 190, 192, 263, 264, 266
- Khitrowo, B. de 19, 51, 94, 101
- Χριστός ἀνέστη 159 f., 197, 198, 215 f., 221, 222, 224, 227, 239, 240, 241, 243, 245, 251, 254, 258, 266 f., 271 f., 277, 279, 286, 289, 291, 292

- Kiss of peace at the Vigil in Jerusalem 26, 35; at Orthros 91, 94, 118, 143 f., 151, 152, 217, 227, 240, 273, 278, 297
- Klameth, G. 18, 19, 40, 41, 45, 50, 52
- Kniazeff, A. 132
- Kondakov, N. 248
- Kosmas and John, Sabbite hymnographers 279
- Kostamonitou monastery, Typicon of 228
- Krasnoseltsev, H. 16
- Kverexi 34 f., 39, 59, 63, 65, 83
- Latin Kingdom of Jerusalem 27, 42 f., 230
- Latin liturgy in Jerusalem 12 f., 19-20
- Lazarus of Mount Galesius 168
- Lazarus Saturday 77
- Lent, Fridays in 23
- Leo VI, Emperor of Constantinople 172
- Liddell-Scott 51
- Lilla, S. 175
- Liturgy of St. James, 68, 70
- Longo, A. 36
- Lucernarium of Paschal Vigil 25 f., 29-58, 119, 285, 294 f., Chart A1
- Luke of San Salvatore 176 f., 178
- Mai, A. 165, 218
- Mamanta, Typicon of monastery of St. 168, 169
- Mammes, St., Monastery of 263
- Mancini, A. 176, 181
- Mansvetov, I. 115, 124, 164, 165
- Manuscripts cf. Index of Manuscripts
- Manuel Comnenus 168
- Manuel, tutor of Emperor Michael II 168
- Mark of Otranto 13
- Martyrium of St. Stephan (Jerusalem) 8-9
- Maškevor, Monastery of 8
- Ma'sûdi 41 f
- Mateos, J. 36, 63, 73, 80, 86, 87, 88, 100, 117, 126, 128, 129, 132, 133, 134, 137, 138, 140, 141, 149, 150, 151, 189
- Mathews, T. 122
- Matranga, F. 176, 181
- Maurice, Emperor 11
- μεγαλειόν 186, 284
- Meinardus, O. 52
- Meyer, P. 165
- Mili, S. Maria of, Typicon of monastery of 177, 178. Cf. also Vat Gr 1877
- Mingarelli, I. 115
- Minisci, T. 177, 178, 179
- Mioni, E. 249
- Modestos of Jerusalem 11
- Mount of Olives 79, 88
- Mtatsmindeli, St. George, Typicon of 22, 115, 135 f., 141 f., 153, 164, 169 f., 179, 298. Cf. also Tif 222
- Myron at Paschal Vigil 126, 133, 134
- Myrophoroi 50-51
- Nativity, Feast of 9, 64, 129 f., 148, 150, 151
- Nicholas, Higuimen of monastery of St. Nicholas of Casole 179
- Nicholas of Jerusalem 14
- Nicholas I, Patriarch of Constantinople 136
- Nikephorus Phokas 173
- Niketas of Constantinople 41-42
- Nikon of the Black Mountain 264
- Nilus II of Grottaferrata 175
- Omont, H. 234, 264, 265
- Palikarova Verdeil, R. 174
- Palladius, 109-111
- Palm Sunday 14, 15, 77 f., 96, 97
- Panteleimon monastery, Typicon of 228
- Papadopoulos-Kerameus, A. 12, 13, 14, 16, 40, 41, 45, 51, 68, 70, 87, 96, 97, 100, 232, 234, 235, 244
- Paschal Vigil 21-71, 101-103, 294-296 (Jerusalem tradition); 109-112, 121-139, 151, 152 (Constantinopolitan tradition); 54 f. (at Antioch). For the monastic tradition cf. Holy Saturday Vespers, Easter Orthros, Chart A. Cf. also Lucernarium.

- Pasinus, I. 45, 179
 Patirion, Monastery of and Typicon of 177, 178
 Patmos, Monastery of St. John the Theologian 231, 259-261
 Paul of Evergetes 168
 Pentecost Sunday 23, 69 f., 71, 144, 148, 151, 295
 Pentecostarion of Venice (1801) 271
 a Perro, Francisco 180
 Peter of Edessa 59
 Peterson, E. 80
 Pétré, H. 7
 Phokeus, Michael 249
 Photius 14, 114
 Polyeleos psalms 87
 Post crucein chapel in Jerusalem 70
 Praetorium, Church of in Jerusalem 14
 Presanctified Liturgy 127
 Protogenes of Carrhae 7
 Psalmodia currens 68
 Pseudo-Chrysostom, Homily of 94, 95, 160, 218, 219, 227, 243, 273, 278
 Pseudo-Epiphanius, Easter homily of 158, 192, 238
 Pseudo-Kodinos 118, 119, 138, 141, 146, 147, 152, 297, Chart C6

 Quasten, J. 109, 158, 160

 Radulfus Glaber 42 f.
 Rahlfs, A. 61, 127, 128
 Renoux, A. 8, 9, 11, 21, 23, 24, 28, 29, 30, 31 f., 62, 63, 65, 67, 73
 Richard, M. 178
 Rocchi, A. 117, 172, 175, 179, 180, 181
 Romanos 205
 Rossi, S. 176, 181
 Rusudan, Queen of Georgia 263

 Sabba, St., Monastery of: Burial Chapel of St. Sabba 234, 240, 244, 271, 292
 Sabba, St., Typicon of 2, 10 f., 27, 36 f., 59, 63 f., 100, 102, 115, 118, 119, 120, 125, 126, 136, 140, 143, 144, 146, 163, 165, 183, 184, 194, *passim* in Section III, 2, 277 f., 297, 298, 300 f.
 Sabba the Slav 169
 Sakkelion, I. 259, 260
 Salvatore, San, Typicon of 86, 176, 178, 180. Cf. also Mess Gr 115
 Saunders, E. 172
 Schmaltz, K. 52
 Schmidt, B. 52
 Schnorr von Karolsfeld, F. 114
 Second Divine Liturgy at Paschal Vigil in Jerusalem 67 f.
 Sergii (Spaskii) 114, 115, 164
 Sergios and Bacchos, Ss., Monastery of 233
 Shio Mgmve, Monastery of 2, 171
 Skaballanovič, M. 163, 164, 165, 167, 168, 233, 248, 279
 Simeon, St., Monastery of in Antioch 264
 Sinai, Monastery of St. Catherine 231, 246-258, 269 f., 280
 Smith Lewis, A. 60
 Sophronios of Grottaferrata 175
 Sophronios of Jerusalem 174
 Sozomenos 109-111, 150
 Spoudaioi monks 15, 16, 87
 Stevenson, H. 175, 262, 263, 265
Sticherarium 265. Cf. also Vind Theol Gr 181
 Stoudion, Typicon of 2, 79, 98, 119, 136, 137, 142, 144, *passim* throughout Section III, 1; 262, 273, 274, 277 f., 298 f.
 Strunk, O. 172, 173, 214, 236, 248, 261
 Suchanov, Arsenios 114
 Symaios, Maximos 12
 Symeon of Thessalonika 127
 Synodikon of Sunday of Orthodoxy 264
 Syriac lectionary system 59, 60

 Tardo, L. 236
 Tarshnischvili, M. 10, 25, 64, 75, 170, 280
 Theodore Studite 163, 166 f., 218, 279
 Theodoretus 7
 Θεωτόρου Κορυδαυτίου, Typicon of monastery of 169
 Thibaut, J.-B. 36
 Timothy of Evergetes 168
 Tobler T. and Moliner, G. 40

- Tractus 75, 104
 Tsimisce, John 14
 Tudebodus 45
 Typicon of Constantinople (1888) 122, 276, 286
 Typicon of Venice (1545) 1, 157 f. and *passim* throughout Section III, 294
 van de Pavard, Fr. 99, 109
 Venevitinov, M. 13, 19, 27, 47, 230
 Verpeaux, J. 118
 Vincent, H., and Abel, F.-M. 19
 Vitali 175
 Vogt 141, 144

 Wenger, A. 112

 Zachary, Pope 50
 Zeffass, R. 17, 24, 52, 67, 74, 78, 82, 96, 128, 139
 Žit'e ... Danila 43 f., 59
 Zozimus, John 10